

Founded 1822.
No. 270.

OCTOBER, 1922.

Fifth Series.
No. 65.

The London Quarterly Review

Contents.

THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION Sydney Cave, B.A., D.D.
TIME'S SILENT SENTINELS' Gilbert Coleridge
JOHN MASEFIELD'S POEMS Coulson Kernahan
THE PROBLEM OF BUDDHISM H. Crawford Walters
THE TRUTH CONCERNING OCCULT PHENOMENA Frank Ballard, M.A., B.Sc., D.D.
(With a Reply by His Honour JUDGE BODKIN, K.C.)
ART AND BEAUTY Emile Bourroux
THE BIRTH OF A RACE A. M. Chirgwin, M.A.
JAMES, VISCOUNT BRYCE T. H. S. Escott
NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS—
THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D.
MOHANCHAND KARAMCHAND GANDHI C. Phillips Cape
DR. DEISSMANN AMONG GERMAN METHODISTS John G. Tinker, D.D.
THE SCIENCE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY John Telford, B.A.
NEW AND RECENT BOOKS: Theological, Historical,
General, &c.
PERIODICAL LITERATURE: British, American

LONDON:

THE EPWORTH PRESS,
J. ALFRED SHARP,
25-35 CITY ROAD, E.C.1.

PRICE 3s. NET. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 10s. POST FREE.

'I CAN'T BEAR TO THINK OF IT!'

HOW often is this cry of ready sympathy uttered in connection with tragedies recounted in the newspapers or those with which we are personally familiar. The heart once genuinely touched, wells up with pity.

Want of imagination, or power to put ourselves in another's place, leaves us cold in face of those common tragedies of everyday occurrence to which no publicity is given—the tragedies of neglected, terrorised, ill-treated children.

If we realized all the agony endured in silence by those tiny beings we should not be able to bear it—unless, indeed, we were doing our utmost to assuage their sufferings.

The National Children's Home has averted disaster in the case of nearly 17,000 children (4,000 now under its care) and turned terror and pain into joy and gladness. Can you bear that the good work be hampered for lack of Funds?

*Gifts and inquiries should
be addressed to:*

THE PRINCIPAL
(Rev. W. HODSON SMITH)

**NATIONAL
CHILDREN'S HOME**
(Founded by Dr. Stephenson)
104-122 CITY RD., LONDON, E.C. 1

TRUSTEES:

J. R. BARLOW, Esq., M.A., J.P.
Sir CHARLES C. WAKEFIELD, Bt., C.B.E.

Vol. I., II., III., and IV.
NOW ON SALE.

THE HISTORY OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

By Dr. G. G. FINDLAY and
W. W. HOLDSWORTH,
M.A., B.D.

In Five Vols., each price 10/- (net post paid.)

Volume I. of this standard History, issued recently, was written by the late Rev. Dr. G. G. Findlay, who put his whole soul into its preparation. It consists of two parts contained in 318 pages. The first part describes the development of the Society at home during its first hundred years, and the second portion an account of the earliest missions of the Methodist Church, resulting in the now independent Churches of the United States of America and of Canada.

Volume II. is entirely devoted to Missions in the West Indies, and contains a remarkably full account of the historic conflict between the Christian Church and the slave owners of the West Indian Islands.

Volume III. describes the founding of the now independent Methodist Churches of Australia and New Zealand, together with the ever-to-be-remembered triumph of the Christian faith over the bushmen and cannibals of the South Sea Islands.

Volume IV. relates the story of the sacrifice and service of the Church in West Africa, and the extraordinary development of Missionary enterprise extending from the extreme south of that Continent to the northern districts of Rhodesia. A third section of this volume contains an account of Methodist Missions on the Continent of Europe.

Volume V. deals with Missionary Service in the far East, and describes the conflict of Christianity with Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Confucianism in Ceylon, Continental India, Burma, and China.

Prospectus free on request.

THE EPWORTH PRESS,
J. ALFRED SHARP,
24-26 City Road, London, E.C. 1.





THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1922

THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

THE problem of the finality of the Christian religion has for long been the life-problem of Christianity in the East, and the contraction of the modern world is rapidly making it the life-problem of Christianity also in the West. To an extent unparalleled since the early Christian centuries, Christianity is to-day in contact with other religions, and the question of its relation to them can no longer be evaded.

Historians tell us that the Church found its most dangerous antagonist, not in a naïve heathenism, but in a paganism partially refined through Christian influences, and defended by high-minded men like Porphyry, who admired Jesus, and were ready to give Him a place among their gods, but who rejected scornfully the claim that Christianity had an exclusive value. There are many Porphyries in the East to-day, and, although idolatry exists, the real controversy is again not with it, but with a paganism purified almost beyond recognition by Christian influences.

This partial success of Christianity does not make its claim to finality more acceptable. Even before the war the claim seemed offensive, and now the intense nationalism of the East makes it appear to many a gratuitous insult, a wanton instance of that European arrogance against which they are in revolt. From Jesus they are ready to learn, but why should His followers speak as if their religion had an absolute value? To the missionary among educated Orientals this is a question of almost daily urgency, and now that the old isolation of Christianity is gone it is

146 THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

impossible for this question to be ignored by us at home. If, because of academic scruples, the teachers of our Churches refuse to face this problem, they must not complain if their members fall victims to the half-truths of Theosophy, or, judging of other religions by popular anthologies, begin to conclude that there is no essential difference between Christianity and the highest of non-Christian faiths. It is not theological pedantry which requires that this question should be answered. It is intimately related, not only to our missionary work, but to our preaching. If Christianity is not final, then the gospel is something different from what the Church has traditionally believed. If it is final, we need to ask in what sense.

I. As was to be expected, it is in Germany that this question has been most adequately discussed.¹ We in England are more interested in action than in abstract discussion, and have shown our interest in the finality of the gospel, not by talking about it, but by the missionary enterprise which is its practical expression. Germany has done far less for foreign missions but far more for the discussion of their principles. And the problem of the finality of the gospel has there become of general interest through the great influence of the school of scholars and thinkers who, calling themselves the religio-historical school, frankly regard Christianity as one phase of the spiritual development of the race, and seek by ethnic analogies to show its close connexion at every stage of its history with other religious movements. Their views have become familiar to English students through the writings of men like Dr. Morgan and Professors Jackson and Lake. Whereas these so far have written, not for the many, but for the few, in Germany the school has published a long series of

¹ The two most considerable books in English—Foster's *The Finality of the Christian Religion* (Chicago, 1906) and Bouquet's *Is Christianity the Final Religion?* (1921)—are both avowedly based on German sources.

inexpensive and brilliantly written popular pamphlets.¹ It is significant that this school has sprung from the Ritschlian movement. The older Ritschlianism unduly isolated Christianity. Ritschl and Herrmann both declined to consider religions apart from Christianity. In reaction against this, this school declines to consider Christianity apart from religions.

It is a misfortune that the works of the systematic thinker of this school, Professor Troeltsch, still remain untranslated, for few religious teachers of our time are more challenging and suggestive. The problem of the finality of Christianity is to him of engrossing interest, and our discussion can have no better basis than his formal treatment in his book on the *Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religions*, first published in 1902.²

The customary claim for the absoluteness of Christianity Troeltsch regards as mere naïveté, impossible now that history has linked up the present and the past in an inseparable whole. History knows nothing of absolutes, nor does it discover in the past anything that can be called the essence of Christianity. At every stage of its development Christianity has been conditioned by its environment. Thus, at the beginning, it was defined by the eschatological ideas of Judaism, so that its ethics became one-sided and unduly dominated by the thought of the end of the world. When Christian faith freed itself from this bondage, it was only to be linked up with Greek philosophy and ethics, so that Christianity was still a concrete, definite, and limited creation. And so it has always been. Nowhere does Christianity appear as an absolute religion, free from

¹ Bousset's *Jesus* and Wrede's *Paul*, the books which gave rise to the Jesus and Paul controversy, were among the earliest of these *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*.

² Our quotations are from the slightly modified second edition, 1912. A brief account of this book is given in my *Redemption Hindu and Christian*, 1919, pp. 14-8; a longer, in Bouquet's recent book *Is Christianity the Final Religion?* 1921, pp. 189-236.

148 THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

the limits of place and age. The attempt to distinguish between kernel and shell Troeltsch rejects. The kernel is as much conditioned by the shell as the shell by the kernel. The contention of Schleiermacher that at least in the person of Christ there is something absolute and unconditioned is similarly rejected. Christ, as an individual, necessarily shared in the limitations of the historical. Nor will Troeltsch accept Hegel's plea that Christianity is, in its totality, absolute as representing the last and highest stage of religion, for this is a conclusion, derived not from history but from *a priori* conceptions of the absolute. Christianity, then, is a purely historical phenomenon, limited and conditioned, as the other religions are.

Thus, to Troeltsch, the historical is necessarily the relative. Yet he will not admit that his conclusions involve an unlimited relativism. In relative phenomena, there may be traced a tendency towards the absolute, for history does not reject norms and inevitably passes to considerations of worth. It would be a delusion to suppose that there is a boundless mass of conflicting values. At the lower stages of culture there is indeed an infinite diversity, but this is only external. Really there is great monotony. Only on the higher stages of culture do we meet with the creative forces of the inner life, and the irruption of these forces are but rare. Those who have had anything new to say to their fellows are not numerous, and the ideas on which humanity has lived have been surprisingly few.

The history of religions, then, does not present a mass of religious forces among which choice is impossible. The lower phases of religion are irrelevant to our quest, and the great ethical and spiritual religions are not numerous. We have, on the one hand, Judaism, Christianity, and Islām; and, on the other hand, the great religions of the East, Brāhmanism and Buddhism. Troeltsch admits that an entirely objective judgement is unattainable, for every judgement of value is, in a sense, a creed, but he claims that

an honest comparison supports the belief that Christianity is the highest of all religions. Judaism and Islām are predominantly legal, and fail to secure redemption from the world. Brāhmanism and Buddhism are religions of redemption, but lack the thought of a living God. Christianity, as the clearest expression of personal piety, is the climax of historic religions. And it lacks their one-sidedness. The legal religions come with a proclamation of the divine will, but leave men still overcome by the world. The redemptive religions seek to bring the world and man into unity with God, but, in doing this, empty the idea of God of all positive meaning. Christianity alone proclaims a personal and living God who unites us to Himself. Thus Christianity is not only the climax ; it is the converging point of the two classic tendencies of historic religions.

Beyond this Troeltsch will not go. Christianity is an historical phenomenon, and, as such, limited and temporary. We cannot prove that it is the final climax of religion. All men's deepest needs have so far been fulfilled in it, but, just as some of the demands it meets are demands it has revealed, so it is possible that new demands would be revealed if a higher revelation came. We cannot, then, speak of the 'unsurpassability' of Christianity. Yet Troeltsch claims that what he has gained is sufficient for the devoutest faith. We are Christians, not because of theories of the absoluteness of Christianity, but because we find that nowhere else can we find God so well as in the life-world of the prophets and of Christianity, and of this whole life-world Jesus is for us the source and symbol. We need not excite ourselves about unknown millenia of human history. It is sufficient if we can see the next step of the way and know thereby our need and duty. What concerns us in the present is to guard against the religious chaos and the religious desolation which threaten us on every side.

II. Troeltsch's book led to an animated controversy which may be very helpful to us now that the question is

150 THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

being discussed in England. We may refer to some of the more conspicuous answers. One of the earliest came from Reischle, a right-wing Ritschlian.¹ Reischle recognizes, as every fair-minded reader must do, that Troeltsch's book was inspired, not by unbelief, but by an eager desire to preserve for Christian faith a place in the modern world of thought. Ritschlian though he is, Reischle admits the legitimacy of Troeltsch's method. The comparison of religions is inevitable, for, through its missionary work, Christianity is once more in practical contact with other religions. Missions are a brutality unless undertaken with the clear consciousness that Christianity surpasses all other religions, and in what respect it does so, and Christian teachers are failing in their duty if, through academic scruples, they refuse to take their part in this task. Yet the comparative method must not be overprized. Troeltsch, though he safeguards himself formally, claims for his historical judgements a greater objectivity than they possess. The standards he applies in judging, for instance, Buddhism and Brâhmanism are really Christian standards, and his proof that Christianity is superior to other religions is as much a judgement of faith as that claim for its absoluteness which he rejects as naive and unscientific. We may admit, and do admit, that Christianity has never, in any of its concrete forms, been unconditioned by history, and yet we can still speak of its absoluteness and claim for it final worth. Our faith is one with that of the first believers, who ventured on their missionary work because of their confidence of the absoluteness of Christianity. We accept Christ's witness, and believe that in Him has come the perfect revelation of God's grace, and we do so because we too have found in Him a reality which redeems from sin and from the world. And this, our judgement of faith, is confirmed by a comparison with Christianity of the other great world religions.

¹ *Theologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 1904, especially pp. 70-100.

THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION 151

Similar criticisms were made by Grützmacher, the most brilliant of the younger leaders of the Modern-Positive school, and by Ihmels, the distinguished representative in our time of the school of Erlangen. As Grützmacher pointed out, faith cannot be content to substitute for the belief in the absoluteness of Christianity a proof of its superiority over all other religions. Faith sees, in the forgiveness and new life which have come through the manifestation of God in Jesus Christ, a gift which can never be surpassed on God's side, because it meets the deepest needs of men, needs which it has no reason to suppose will ever change. The experience of Christ leads regularly to the confession that He is the way, the truth, and the life for all the world. Even the possibility that this was not so would make the Christian experiences uncertain—indeed, non-existent. If Christ is not the Lord of the world for all men, why should I subordinate myself to Him as my Lord? If He does not belong to the future, why of the past or the present? It is the nature of faith to form absolute judgements. This 'naïveté,' as Troeltsch calls it, belongs to faith's essence, and, if this be removed, faith itself is lost.¹

In his full and incisive discussion,² Ihmels similarly complains that Troeltsch so little realizes the difference between saying 'I can nowhere find God so well as in the life-world of the prophets and of Christianity' and saying 'I have truly found God' that in one place he puts the two expressions side by side, as if they were identical. But between the two expressions there is a difference which is fundamental. It is one thing to be a Christian because in Christ we have the perfect revelation of God; it is another to be a Christian because, as Troeltsch says, Christianity is for us, and up to the present, the most perfect form of religion. As Ihmels puts it in another book, it is the

¹ *Eigenart und Probleme der positiven Theologie*, 1909, p. 36.

² *Die christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit*,^{*} 1914, pp. 160–86.

152 THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

difference between intercourse with God and communion with Him.¹ We have intercourse with many men whom we only partly know, and in all religions men have such intercourse with God. Communion is only possible with the few we really know and trust. It is the claim of Christianity to be the one religion of true communion with God—a communion mediated by Jesus Christ, in whom God is made known. And, because of this, Christianity sees in the coming of Christ something unique and inexplicable.

Troeltsch's view thus means a different God and a different Christ from that of classic Christian faith. As Schaefer, yet another critic, points out,² Troeltsch and his school assume that history can only be studied from a standpoint which involves the analogy and relativity of all its events. By this method everything in history tends to be levelled down and in part explained away. The school is not irreligious, for it sees God behind the whole religious process, but it is man, with his aspiration after God and his experience of God, which is the centre of interest. God is reduced to the last absolute, the more or less incomprehensible first cause of the tangible and visible phenomena of that history of religions of which Christ Himself is a part; and thus the living God is largely lost for faith and Christ loses His unique and final value.

III. These criticisms seem to me just, and may help us as we face in England views similar to those of Troeltsch. If we abandon the belief in the finality of the gospel, with that abandonment will go the sacrifice of much which has been held essential to classic Christianity. If Christ be not the perfect and so the final revelation of God, then Christian faith loses at once its certainty and its submission, for, if that revelation be imperfect, we cannot tell just where its imperfection lies, and so we can find excuse for a half-

¹ *Centralfragen der Dogmatik in der Gegenwart*, 1911, p. 46.

² *Theozentrische Theologie*, I.,¹ 1916, pp. 174–90.

hearted trust in the God whom He proclaimed, and a partial acceptance of His ethical and spiritual ideals. He may still be the greatest of all teachers, but we are no longer bound to give to Him that self-surrender which is another name for Christian faith. And this is the real problem of our modern Christianity. The prime issue is not between Unitarianism and Trinitarianism. It is between accepting Him as the greatest of all teachers thus far, who yet may be surpassed, and accepting Him as the absolute and final Master of our race.

If the belief in the finality of the gospel be relinquished, it is unlikely that the missionary work of the Church will long be maintained. Troeltsch indeed laments the lack of interest which most Germans have shown in the missionary enterprise, and protests against the way tolerance of others' beliefs has degenerated into that boundless relativism which he describes as the modern disease and weakness of faith; for faith is not faith if it has lost courage to propagate itself. Yet Troeltsch himself questions the usefulness of missions to Brâhmanism, Buddhism, and Islâm.¹ The exclusion is significant, and shows how different is Troeltsch's belief that Christianity is the highest of extant religions from the Apostolic confidence that Christ is the one perfect and universal Saviour. This claim of Christianity to be final seems to many arrogant and intolerant. Actually it may lead to humility and insight. Comparisons are always difficult and may easily be offensive. We may believe, for instance, that Zoroaster was a truer teacher than Muhammad, but who of us would care to try to convert a Muslim to Zoroastrianism as to a superior, though only partially true, religion? The Christian missionary has no such invidious task. Just because, to him, Christ is not the noblest teacher only, but the world's final Saviour, he will not, if he knows his business, look for the defects in the religions of those to whom he goes. Rather he will seek to understand the

¹ *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1913, ii., pp. 779-804.

highest aspirations which these religions express, in the confidence that, although his own understanding of Christianity may be inadequate to meet them, in Christ and Christ alone these aspirations can perfectly be satisfied.

Such a conclusion is a judgement of faith. Our confidence in the finality of Christianity is an implicate of the characteristic Christian experience of communion with God in Jesus Christ, and only as we share in that experience can we have that confidence. Not even the superiority of Christianity can be formally proved, for, in religion, entirely objective judgements are impossible; all judgements are judgements of value. Yet, now that the world seems so small, it is inevitable that such comparisons should be made. When we claim that in Christ we have true communion with God, that God imparts Himself to men in Him, we are claiming that Christianity is the perfect religion, for religion everywhere has, as its deepest quest, the quest for God. But, if this be so, then it must surely be adequate to the spiritual aspirations expressed by the great religions. Though the belief in the finality of Christianity cannot be proved by history, if true, it should be congruous with its data. Troeltsch's discussion may help us here. In its present form it is incomplete and in part misleading. You cannot divide religions into legal and redemptive. Judaism was not legal only, but redemptive, and Islām has had, from the first, a world-denying aspect. Even Brāhmanism has in it a moral element. Yet a review of non-Christian religions does show that there are, in the higher of them, two predominant tendencies—the one concerned primarily with obedience to God as law-giver, the other seeking chiefly redemption from the world. If there be a final religion we should expect it to be adequate to both these tendencies and to be a religion perfectly ethical and perfectly redemptive. And a re-exploration of Christianity may serve to show that it

is such a religion, redeeming from the world, to enable us in the world to serve our holy God.

In a sense other than Troeltsch meant, it is true that the finality of Christianity lies beyond history. In Christ we have a true revelation of God, true communion, true redemption. But our appropriation of the gospel is incomplete, and Christianity, in any of its empirical forms, is an historical phenomenon, and, as such, local and temporary. We may enlarge our appropriation and be delivered in part from a merely national Christianity as we seek to relate Christianity to the needs expressed by the great religions with which Christianity is now in intimate and vital contact. Julius Kaftan, who began his theological career with something of the narrowness of the older Ritschlianism, tells us that it was as he realized that there were religions of redemption, and that Christianity was among their number, that he grasped the fact that Christianity is not only an ethical religion ; it is an ethical religion of redemption from the world. None who have read his later books can fail to recognize the great enrichment of thought and experience which came to him through that discovery. Many a missionary finds that, as he tries to face new needs, new resources in Christianity are revealed. Thus a man who has to face, as some of us have had to do in India, an audience of outcastes on the Sunday and an audience of high-caste students all the week, and finds that he has a message for each, gains fresh confirmation for his faith in the adequacy of the gospel. His own interpretation of it he finds is too limited, too Western ; but, as, with others' needs in mind, he re-explores the gospel, he finds in it ideas and forces he had before ignored. Redemption from the tyranny of fear means more when we have to deal with those who live in fear of devils ; such phrases as ' eternal life ' or ' in Christ Jesus ' gain a quite new importance when we are seeking to help those whose quest has been for the infinite and the eternal.

156 THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

That is the glory of Christianity. We never know what we shall discover in it next. For, although any concrete form of Christianity is historically conditioned, we may find in Christ, not only the noblest of religious teachers, but the divine Redeemer, indistinguishable in experience from God Himself. Because of this, and in this sense, we may assert the finality of the Christian gospel. It is a tremendous claim, and, in making it, the Church is committed to its immense demands. Incapable of proof, this belief in the finality of the gospel is inherent in the Church's faith. It can become a certainty only for those who are ready to accept its implicates ; to trust the God whom they have seen in Christ, and judge of life, so far as they are able, by the values He reveals.

SYDNEY CAVE.

CHESHUNT COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

'TIME'S SILENT SENTINELS.'

THREE is something peculiar about megalithic remains which is arresting to most of us, and we feel at once a reverence for their great age and permanence, and an ardent curiosity to know something of their history. Why are we thus impressed by mere upright stones and slabs? Does their obvious solidity suggest merely the brute strength of their builders? Do we regard them as monumental relics of a religion long since forgotten? Or do we recognize the outcome of an heroic desire of an unknown race for immortality on this earth? We find ourselves sitting down before these great rocks and speculating, much in the spirit of Gray at Stoke Poges, as to the people who erected them. History will not help us much, so we have to patch up the tale of these monuments from fragments, such as broken potsherds, weapons, and bones, yielded by the earth.

That religion was the prime motive for their construction seems unquestioned, and that they were largely used as sanctuaries for burial has been in many cases proved by bones having been found *in situ*. For instance, at Callernish, in the Isle of Lewis, near the centre stone of a circle formed of upright blocks, so rough as to suggest that they were ice split and not hewn, a chamber containing charred human bones was brought to light. And the fact is very striking that so many of these monuments are circular in shape and cover such a large portion of northern Europe.

The theory held by some is that the men who erected them came from the East, and possibly from Egypt, and we find this anticipated, curiously enough, by Martin Tupper in 1849. 'In the cairn, above all other imitations,' says he in a contemporary publication, 'the magnificence of Egypt is pre-eminent; her pyramids are assuredly the most glorious cairns of human piling. And how interesting it is to us

Britons—the despised and barbaric hordes at the ends of the earth—to note such evident traits of an early Eastern origin for the humbler tumuli that crown our Cornish heights and are thickly studded over the downs of Dorsetshire!' And this view has received modern confirmation from Professor G. Elliot Smith, who tells us that our cairns and tumuli are crude Western copies of the pyramids of Egypt, and that their primary use was burial.

There is a strong probability that the Egyptians were the first race of people who emerged from the Stone Age, and that that emergence took place somewhere about 8,000 years before Christ. Bodies of the earliest races were originally buried plainly in the earth, but a later care for the dead suggested the protection of a hollow tomb lined with brick to prevent the sides falling in, a roof of wood—later of stone—the whole surmounted by a round cairn which was enclosed by a circular retaining wall, and these circular walls are said to be the original of the stone circles found in the north.

The discovery of the use of bronze subsequently enabled the Egyptians, and those living about the shores of the Mediterranean, to dig out rock-cut tombs, such as are found in Sicily and in other parts outside Egypt. Meanwhile, far away in the north, the Stone Age and its customs still persisted, and the 'despised and barbaric hordes at the ends of the earth' continued to use flints, because they could not make bronze, nor procure it in any quantity, just in the same way that savages in an age of firearms persist in the use of bows, spears, and arrows.

Now, with a few exceptions, most of our stone circles and megaliths carry no trace of having been fashioned by tools of metal, and it is very likely that the Stone Age in the north lasted long after civilization had progressed in the south; but the mere fact that the early Egyptian tombs were in the form of a circle does not seem to be sufficient to warrant the assumption that the northern stone circles were rude and conscious imitations of Egyptian tombs. A circle is the most

natural shape for a primitive people to adopt; indeed, one might almost say the only shape they ever adopt. We ourselves dwell in square houses, but the first thing a child does when he digs in the sand is to make a circular rampart round his castle, which itself is circular, that form coming first to his mind, and man in the childhood of his civilization does the same. Nearly all primitive savages, from the African to the Esquimaux, live in circular huts, and it may be considered a step in development whenever a tribe adopts a rectangular form of building.

Grimspound, near Widecombe-in-the-Moor, is one of the best instances of an ancient fortified village. It consists of several stone rings, surrounded by the ruins of a circular wall, under which a spring of excellent water rises. The gateway is paved with big flat stones, and each circle is provided with two doorposts of tolerable height. Its location upon the bare and desolate upland of Hamildon, where no tree has ever flourished, is suggestive of the time when men dwelt for protection in the hills whence enemies could be seen from afar. No pointed hill is quite so silent as a broad moor where no living thing moves save the bees feeding on the heather, or a blue dung-beetle occasionally changing quarters on the wing, and this silence induces you to pause in the midst of this deserted village, and try to realize the life of the wild and hardy men who collected behind these stout walls for their defence. The place is more impressive than a castle because of its dateless simplicity, and the hoary, half-sunken blocks of rounded granite convey a solid sense of power which many larger buildings do not give. Is this, by the way, because it carries in its composition the stamp of its ancient history, bearing on its surface no stratification to mark the lapse of time, and suggesting its primaevial origin by its appearance? Certainly the rounded forms of granite hills, or cliffs of gneiss, give a greater sense of solid antiquity than any other formation, and a Dartmoor tor, originally thrust through the crust of this groaning earth in

a semi-liquid state, reminds one forcibly of a giant's tomb-stone. And so, when blocks of this material are found piled up for man's defence, an irresistible desire seizes one to wrest the mystery of their builders out of the blank mist of the past.

We are told of a broad-headed race coming up out of the East, bringing with them Aryan speech and bronze weapons into Britain, and conquering the long-headed and weaker indigenous population. Was Grimsound, then, one of the last strongholds of this poor affrighted race? Were they the builders of the numerous cairns around, in the centre of which is frequently found a 'kist-vein,' a rude stone box, in which bodies were buried in a flexed position, pathetically clasping their knees, after the manner of the ancient Mexicans? For these chambered cairns are said to be the earliest form of burial in England, and used by Neolithic man before the Bronze man reverted to burial in barrows.

In a hilly district names sometimes have a greater significance than in a plain, for a conquering race may change the names of places, but the hills are apt to retain their old names, so that we find—in Scotland, for instance—many hills the names of which cannot be traced to any source, either Scandinavian or Celtic. Many years ago two tors, overhanging a tributary of the river Dart and called Bell and Mill, were supposed to be relics of the worship of Baal and Milcom, or Moloch, 'the abomination of the Ammonites,' and the seemingly artificial basins in the granite tops were pointed out as receptacles for the blood of the sacrifice and countenanced the idea. The origin of these names may be, and probably is, correct, but these basins, common to a great many tors, are in reality naturally formed. They are shallow, flat depressions, containing rain water, at the bottom of which may be seen small particles of granite which have been conveyed thither by the wind. This wind is always agitating the water and rolling these little stones about, thus wearing away the rock into flat pot-holes. How many ages

it has taken to form these basins it is impossible to say, but this is doubtless the way they are formed.

Perhaps the reason why Dartmoor is so rich in traces of prehistoric man is because it is open and uncultivated, and it has been worth nobody’s while to remove the stones for building purposes. An upright stone, if not useful as a rubbing post in a field, must be very tempting to a man building a doorway. Thus, owing to their isolated situation, such remains as the stone avenue called the Grey Weathers, Peter on the Mount or Peter’s Boundstone, and the Bare-down Man have escaped destruction. The latter upright stone is irremovable, for it stands in the midst of a quaking and dangerous bog, wedged in at its base by smaller stones, on an island, as it were, of firm ground which can only be approached in a dry season. How this pillar of rock came to be there is a mystery, unless we suppose that the bog is of recent growth.

In many parts of England we see in the fields large upright stones which are now advantageously used as rubbing posts by sheep and cattle. As they are obviously too large to have been set up for that purpose, it is probable that many of them are prehistoric. As traces of burial have never been, so far as I know, found close to these monuments, they were erected in all probability to commemorate some great event, or in connexion with religion; perhaps, as in the case of Jacob’s pillar, they were associated with both. That the menhir may have come from the Egyptian obelisk is quite possible, and it may be that Tupper’s speculation of ‘an early Eastern origin,’ if applied to the upright stone, is correct, and yet it may have a still earlier source. I do not suppose that Jacob was the first man to set up a stone to mark the place where something extraordinary had happened, or that he imitated the Egyptians in so doing. Many of the primitive idols of savage peoples began with a post, first carved with human features at the top; then, as art advanced, the human figure developed arms close to the side

hugging the belly, and disproportionately short legs, and, till man learnt to separate the arms from the body, this became a common form in widely distant parts of the world. I have in my possession a wooden Ju Ju brought from Benin, in Africa, in the above described form, and the hands appear to be clasping two objects like scrubbing brushes, and this idol happens to be almost identical in shape and posture with a colossal stone image in Peru, and yet there is no evidence whatever of any connexion between the ancient Peruvians and Africa. The extraordinary likeness, even down to the scrubbing brushes, only illustrates the development of art along the same lines in different parts of the globe, though it may be at totally different times. I confess the idea of tracing some early connexion between the two continents was to me most alluring, but the similarity of other primitive idols from other parts of the world, which may be verified by a visit to the British Museum, soon dispelled the notion.

When I was young I remember what an extraordinary fascination an upright post of conglomerate stone erected in a wild garden had for me, for, though small in size, it reminded me of the pillars of rock I had seen on Dartmoor. Had I been more imaginative I should have weaved some ancient tale around it, but, as it was, it affected me as the one piece of solid antiquity which would outlive all the growing things planted round about.

Any consideration of upright stones would be incomplete without some reference to the theory, not so widely held as it was, that menhirs in general, and obelisks too, are symbols of phallic worship. It seems that this theory has been pushed beyond its utmost limit, and indeed the mere fact that no attempt seems to have been made to fashion ancient obelisks into anything but the strictest architectural form would seem to militate strongly against this theory. The flavour of impropriety, I fear, must have been too insidiously tempting for some of the writers in this direction. When a

chief gains a notable victory over an enemy, the first thing which occurs to him is to erect something to remind future generations of the heroism displayed in the fight, and the handiest thing is an upright stone; moreover, there is a joy in planting something that will last. More recently people have built towers on hills for similar reasons, and a cynical generation dubs them ‘follies,’ but deep down in the heart of man there is still that desire, and it will remain there so long as we wish for immortality either in this world or the next. And since we know that in historical times the commemoration of any event of importance has frequently taken the form of an upright stone, may we not infer that, in Egypt especially, that which led to the preference for the rectangular shape of the pyramid led to the working of the upright stone into a similar shape? The evolution of the obelisk from the menhir may easily have been the same as that of the pyramid from the cairn. Goethe thought that the obelisk grew out of a common natural fracture in the granite parallelopiped in Upper Egypt.

The solidity, the permanence—I had almost said the personal dignity—of a large stone is so obvious that it is not surprising that the cult of stones is perhaps the most ancient in the world. In the *Metamorphoses*, where we find the classical mythology known to Ovid crystallized in a poetic form, we read that after the great flood Deucalion and Pyrrha cast stones behind them, which became men and women who repeopled the earth, and this is significant of the tendency of primitive folk to attribute personality to stones. At a later date the worship of Hermes, or Termes, the god of boundaries and of travel, originated in the respect paid to boundary stones, and resulted in an upright stone being the symbol of the god. Man clings with reverence to ancient custom, which time and change seem powerless to eradicate, and sometimes an almost miraculous resurrection of the dry bones of the faith is brought about. ‘When Bullock,’ says Heine in his *Pictures of Travel*, ‘dug up in

Mexico an old heathen stone image, he found next morning that during the night it had been covered with flowers, although Spain had destroyed the old Mexican faith with fire and sword, and although the souls of the natives had been for three centuries digged about, ploughed, and sowed with Christianity.' And later still, Lord Avebury records in his *Origin of Civilization* that in Jura, in the Hebrides, the common people were accustomed to worship an upright stone, moving round it 'deasie' or 'sunwise,' and he also mentions that in the island of Skye rude stones were consecrated to the Gruagach, or Apollo the Fairhaired, on which libations of milk used to be poured.

These last facts would lead to the suggestion that many, if not all, of the megalithic remains in Great Britain were erected by sun-worshippers, and this theory we know has been at any rate applied to Stonehenge, that mighty fragment ascribed to the latter end of the Stone Age. In saying this I am not unmindful of the view held by James Fergusson and others that it was erected in the Bronze Age, that it was not built at one and the same time, and that many of the stones were brought there from a distance. In this connexion let us see what the recent excavations to the depth of about seven feet, conducted by Dr. Gowland, when the 'leaning' stone was restored to its original position, brought to light. First, no object of metal of any description was found save in the superficial layers; secondly, 'stones of the compact quartzite variety found in the earth around were without exception either hammer stones used in shaping the big stones, or chips of them,' these fragments of both 'sarsen' and 'bluestones' being in the lower stratum just above the bed-rock of chalk, the latter being in excess of the former. All the stones occur in the district, many, it is said, deposited on Salisbury Plain by glacial drift. These facts point to the conclusion that they were all collected from the surrounding area, and shaped contemporaneously on the spot by stone tools.

Now when, roughly speaking, did the Bronze Age begin ? Sir John Evans places it about 1400 B.C., and Dr. Gowland says about 1800 B.C., and if you accept the assumption that the sun rose directly over the Friar’s Heel—or leading stone to the east—to a spectator standing at the centre of the altar stone on or about the date of the erection of Stonehenge, then Sir Norman Lockyer’s date of 1680 B.C., fixed astronomically from his observations, gives a curious corroboration arrived at by a different path. Exactitude in such matters is not to be expected after such lapse of time, for the spread of the use of bronze must have varied in different countries, but, even so, these dates are fairly approximate.

It must not be forgotten, however, that other circles in this country do not seem to be orientated, although many of them have upright stones erected outside, and apparently in connexion with, the main buildings. The stones at Callernish, for instance, which are roughly in the form of a cross with a circle at the centre and described as running north and south, did not appear to be so according to a pocket compass with which I inspected it some years ago, but had a considerable aberration, how much I am unable to say at the present time. I do not know whether that aberration has been calculated scientifically, as in the case of Stonehenge, but at any rate it would be an interesting experiment to make.

A remarkable similarity has been pointed out by Dr. Gowland between the trilithon, or two posts and a lintel, and the structure which stands immediately behind the altar on the spot whence the sun is worshipped in some of the most ancient temples in Japan ; nevertheless, we must not therefore jump to the conclusion that, because we find similar megalithic forms in different places, they are necessarily copies of one another, any more than the African Ju Ju should be regarded as connected with the Peruvian image referred to above, but rather that they are ‘the outcome of a similar development of the human mind, and had an

independent origin in many and remotely separate regions.' Probably the trilithon was originally evolved in a natural way from a menhir, and, once a trilithic form was established, the extension from that to a cromlech became an easy matter, as three uprights bring greater stability, and will support a heavier weight. Let any one who wishes to realize the solidity of a cromlech visit Drewsteignton, in Devon, where he will see a cyclopean affair, a gigantic block resting upon three upright stones, a monument of lasting power, more impressive in its way than even Stonehenge itself.

Now what was the object of these wonderful structures ? Was it commemorative, religious, or merely sepulchral ? Dr. Robert Munro, in his *Prehistoric Britain*, is inclined to the view that most of these megalithic remains were built primarily for burial purposes ; but, seeing how few traces of burial have been found in their sites, it is surely more probable that religion was the prime cause of their erection. The mere fact that barrows and tumuli are often found near by only illustrates the natural association of a graveyard with a temple of religion. It may be that future excavation may reveal additional evidence of burial in the cromlechs and circles of this country, but this would only prove more conclusively that they were *also* used for burial, just as our churches and cathedrals have been put to that secondary purpose.

What this religion was it is impossible to say from lack of evidence, for here we fulfil Schlegel's definition of historians — 'prophets looking into the past.' Modern writers have told us very little about the Druids and their worship, but whoever they were, and wherever they originally came from, they probably derived their custom from an early and savage past. The essence of all primitive religion is belief in propitiation by sacrifice of some kind. That human sacrifice was common in prehistoric times is illustrated by the account in the Bible of Abraham, who did not hesitate to offer up his son to appease an angry God, and the Druids probably

carried on what was an ancient practice. But that which exacted such an offering was a religion real in its grip of man, real with all the intensity of superstition, and those old stones were all the more sacred from having reeked with the blood of fellow creatures slain in its cause. Where the spirit is narrow and confined, inanimate objects 'grow intense in the clefts of human life,' and assume great talismanic force which we, with our scientific training, find difficult to comprehend; but the feeling is there all the same, and sometimes crops up in unexpected places, in proof of which many absurd and superstitious acts done every day might be cited. The hallowed character of these stones lasted long into the Christian era, for we find Theodoric, Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh, and Edgar and Canute in the tenth and eleventh, centuries condemning and forbidding their worship. And being the one static emblem of a cult more ancient than, and opposed to, the Church, we read in Michelet that in France in the Middle Ages a megalithic monument was usually chosen as the scene wherein to enact the rites of a witch's Sabbath—those wild meetings in which one traces the pathetic recrudescence of paganism mingling strangely with revolting travesties of Christian sacraments.

Say what you will, there is something about these rocks which you cannot define. They are not mere stones set up by man for his own use, like big blocks in a cyclopean wall. They are ruins of a religion, and that is why they impress us. Can it be that some faint aura of personality, of reverence, or of sacrifice, still hangs about these aged human relics which unconsciously affects our imagination? 'I have reason to believe,' says Sir Oliver Lodge, 'that a trace of individuality can cling about terrestrial objects in a vague, imperceptible fashion, but to a degree sufficient to enable those traces to be detected by persons with suitable faculties.' True, you must have 'suitable faculties,' and these are the most valuable gifts which make up the equipment of the modern observer. Such faculties are not confined to mere

deductions from phenomena, but include an element of imagination in order to predict results contrary to all previous experience. If Darwin, Huxley, and Lyall had lacked the imagination to conceive the vast antiquity of man, and his orderly procession upward from the brute—a history as beautiful, divine, and quite as miraculous as that of special creation—we should still be blindly hugging our Biblical chronology.

We often say, 'Could stones speak, what tales would they not deliver of the scenes which they have witnessed!' If they do not speak, at least they whisper in a language so subtle that there are few who understand it. But visit a megalithic temple in the gloaming, as Heine did the Roman amphitheatre at Verona, or before the break of day, and perhaps you may be similarly rewarded by seeing the crowded worshippers waiting in crouched expectancy for the rising of their king, the gleam of the sacrificial knife will reflect his coming glory, and barbaric songs will greet the first warm flush of his presence. Or perhaps you may reconstruct the wild orgy of the semi-pagan rites of a black mass, in which some young and beautiful witch will let loose for a mad and wicked moment all the suppressed joy and thwarted passion of the Middle Ages; and if, instead of being shocked, you are tempted to regard such crude expressions as a revolt from too narrow a religion, or as an aspiration towards something higher and beyond the bitter life of serfdom, those silent witnesses of these scenes will stand as indestructible milestones of man's progress, and you will indeed find that there are sermons at least in some kinds of stones.

GILBERT COLERIDGE.

JOHN MASEFIELD'S POEMS

'THE Widow in the Bye Street' is a great achievement in tragic art, a masterpiece of compression. Within less than a hundred pages the story, not of one, but of three tragic souls is told without the omission of a single essential detail. Pitifully poor, the widow had, for her boy's sake, starved, toiled (she was a seamstress) till her eyes were red and bleared, and nothing of womanly comeliness remained. Mother and son were, however, all in all to each other, and she was happy, though haunted ever by the thought of the time

When the new wife would break up the old home.

Fate, in the person of the woman, Anna, soon comes upon the scene :

Her smile, her voice, her face, were all temptation,
All subtle flies to trouble man, the trout ;
Man to entice, entrap, entangle, flout, . . .
To take and spoil, and then to cast aside :
Gain without giving was the craft she plied.

For her own base ends Anna sets herself—an easy task to a beautiful woman whose victim is an ignorant boy, inflammable of passion, and to whom the world has thus far held only one woman, his mother—to win his love away from that mother, and to herself. One week-end he brings home no money, having spent his wages in buying jewellery for Anna ; discovering which, and seeing the two together, the mother denounces the object of his infatuation to the boy, and by the most degrading of all names which can be applied to a woman.

From denunciation the mother passes into an hysterical and pitiful appeal, described by Mr. Masefield in a stanza the last line of which must surely wring every reader's heart :

'Jimmy, I won't say more. I know you think
 That I don't know, being just a withered old
 With chaps all fallen in and eyes that blink,
 And hands that tremble so they cannot hold.
 A bag of bones to put in churchyard mould,
 A red-eyed hag beside your evening star.'
 And Jimmy gulped, and thought, 'By God, you are.'

To many readers that last line will seem the most tragic in the book, not only because one has infinite pity for the mother and none for Anna, or for her paramour, Ern, but because the tragedy is of the soul, not of outward happenings. Thus even the mad killing of Ern by the boy, and the boy's expiation of the crime on the scaffold, seem less terrible than the mother's heartbreak. One evening the boy meets Anna with Ern, and is instantly insanely jealous. He spies on them, discovers the relations between them; there is a 'scene,' and Ern, egged on by Anna, strikes him.

Jimmy went down and out. 'The kid,' said Ern.
 'A kid, a sucking puppy; hold the light.'
 And Anna smiled. 'It gave me such a turn.
 You look so splendid, Ernie, when you fight.'
 She looked at Jim with: 'Ern, is he all right ?'
 'He's coming to.' She shuddered. 'Pah, the brute !
 What things he said'; she stirred him with her foot.

The next scene in the drama is that of Ern and Anna as lovers in the latter's cottage.

And in the dim the lovers went upstairs,
 Her eyes fast closed, the shepherd's burning stark,
 His lips entangled in her straying hairs,
 Breath coming short as in a convert's prayers,
 Her stealthy face all drowsy in the dim
 And full of shudders as she yearned to him.

All this, and more, the jealousy-maddened boy in his imagination sees.

'And now I'll drink,' he said,
 'I'll drink and drink—I never did before—
 I'll drink and drink until I'm mad or dead.'

His wits were working like a brewer's wort
 Until among them came the vision gleaming
 Of Ern with bloody nose and Anna screaming.

The boy drinks recklessly. He does not return home that night ; he has no work to which to go in the morning, and his steps inevitably tend towards Anna's cottage.

Ern had just brought her in a wired hare ;
 She stood beside him stroking down the fur.
 ' Oh, Ern, poor thing, look how its eyes do stare.'
 ' It isn't *it*,' he answered. ' It's a *her*.'
 She stroked the breast and plucked away a bur,
 She kissed the pads, and leapt back with a shout.
 ' My God, he's got the spudder. Ern. Look out ! '

But she is too late. The blow, savagely delivered with a heavy weapon, fractures Ern's skull, and Jimmy is tried, convicted, and sentenced. Then comes one of those unexpected interpolations so characteristic of Mr. Masefield. Again and again he startles the reader by some vivid supplementary picture, some pregnant ' aside ' of psychological insight. Instead of closing the description of the boy's trial with the verdict and sentence, we pass with Mr. Masefield into the robing-room, where the judge is on his knees.

' O God, who made us out of dust, and laid
 Thee in us bright, to lead us to the truth,
 O God, have pity upon this poor youth.

' Thy pity and Thy mercy, God, did save,
 Thy bounteous gifts, not any grace of mine,
 From all the pitfalls leading to the grave,
 From all the death-feasts with the husks and swine.
 God, who has given me all things, now make shine
 Bright in this sinner's heart, that he may see.
 God, take this poor boy's spirit back to Thee.'

And that the God who (to use the words of the broken-hearted mother) ' warms His hands at man's heart when he prays,' and makes of the end of such a life as her son's

A rest for broken things too broke to mend,
 does hear the boy's and his mother's prayers, the reader is convinced.

In 'Dauber' Mr. Masefield reaches a height of sustained splendour which should give it permanent place among sea poetry. Of all his studies in psychology I place 'Dauber' first. This may be because it strikes one as more or less autobiographical, and that in 'Dauber' Mr. Masefield's passion for ships and for the sea, as well as his hunger for beauty, and his devotion to his art, are most finely expressed. Dauber's passion is twofold—for art and for the sea. His life's dream is to be the sea's greatest interpreter, to show her as she is in all her moods, the most terrible as well as the tenderest, not as remembered or imagined in the studio, but as actually seen on board ship. Dauber's life-dream was to accomplish in one art—painting—what Mr. Masefield has achieved in another—poetry. Other artists than Dauber have painted pictures, other singers than Masefield have penned poems; but Dauber saw, as Masefield sees,

That if he drew that line of sailors' faces
 Sweating the sail, their passionate play and change,
 It would be new, and wonderful, and strange.
 That this was what his work meant; it would be
 A training in new vision.

How Dauber, already an artist, 'won through,' to become not only a sailor but a man, I must not in detail relate. Perhaps the finest touch is that in which we see Dauber—his natural timidity now beaten down and disciplined—as, in death, both artist and man.

He had had revelation of the lies
 Cloaking the truth men never choose to know;
 He could bear witness now and cleanse their eyes.
 He had beheld in suffering; he was wise.

And so, even in the laying down of his life, Dauber cries out triumphantly of his art—these were his last words—'It shall go on.'

'Reynard the Fox' is a classic of the chase and 'Right Royal' is almost a classic of the race-course.

Speed, strained to the breaking point, awakens in John Masefield such wild zest of delirious joy that we, as well as he, are carried off our feet when he writes about it. Him it so intoxicates that the pace of it goes to his head, and he can persuade himself into believing (I cannot) that even the hunted creature finds joy in the chase. Of the fox we read on p. 96 :

Till the terror of death, though there indeed,
Was lulled for a while by his pride of speed,

and, on the opposite page, we are told of the fox's

Pride in the speed, his joy in the race.

There is no ' joy ' for the fox in being hunted, Mr. Masefield. Of that I am as sure as that your Saul Kane and I are—each in his own way—sinners.

Not until I had read ' Lollingdon Downs ' could I rightly apprehend Mr. Masefield's attitude towards the spiritual matters on which he writes :

There is no God, as I was taught in youth,
Though each, according to his stature, builds
Some covered shrine for what he thinks the truth,
Which day by day his reddest heart-blood gilds.
There is no God ; but death, the clasping sea,
In which we move like fish, deep over deep,
Made of men's souls that bodies have set free,
Floods to a Justice though it seems asleep.
There is no God ; but still, behind the veil,
The hurt thing works out of its agony.
Still, like the given curse that did not fail
Return the pennies given to passers-by.
There is no God ; but we, who breathe the air,
Are God ourselves, and touch God everywhere.

The sonnet indicates Mr. Masefield's leaning towards Pantheism—sublimest, if semi-pagan, of conceptions outside revealed religion—the goal to which such intellects as his so often tend. And just as he holds that we

Are God ourselves, and touch God everywhere,

so he holds that the poet's quest for beauty should be, not without us, but within.

Here in the self is all that man can know
Of Beauty, all the wonder, all the power,
All the unearthly colour, all the glow,
Here in the self which withers like a flower.

Here in the flesh, within the flesh, behind,
Swift in the blood and throbbing on the bone,
Beauty herself, the universal mind,
Eternal April wandering alone ;
The God, the holy Ghost, the atoning Lord,
Here in the flesh, the never yet explored.

Except to say that I do not share Mr. Masefield's views on Pantheism, or in thinking—unless in the sense that beauty is said to be in the eye of the beholder—that beauty is to be found only within ourselves, I do not propose to discuss these highly controversial questions. Some knowledge of a poet's standpoint or beliefs may assist readers the better to understand his work. These standpoints and beliefs I do but indicate and pass on.

'The Everlasting Mercy' is the so-called story of a conversion. I say so-called, not because I do not believe in conversion, nor because I am unable to visualize Saul Kane, but for another reason. That reason is that what Mr. Masefield has done is to transform Saul Kane into John Masefield, and that, neither conversion nor John Masefield can accomplish. Saul tells the story himself, and, as is not uncommon among converts of his type, he holds that his past record is the weightiest testimony—as no doubt it is—of what Christianity has done for him. Christianity can work miracles. It can so change the whole nature of a man that a sinner, even a criminal, may become a saint, but it does not transform a Saul Kane into a John Masefield. Speaking of himself, as he was before conversion, Saul Kane says :

I drunk, I fought, I poached, I whored,
 I did despite unto the Lord,
 I cursed, 'twould make a man look pale,
 And nineteen times I went to jail.

Now, friends, observe and look upon me,
 Mark how the Lord took pity on me.

Then Saul tells of a quarrel—in which he was in the wrong—with 'Billy Myers, a friend of mine' :

'This field is mine,' he says, 'by right;
 If you poach here there'll be a fight.'

A fight is arranged,

'And Silas Jones, that bookie wide,
 Will make a purse five pounds a side.'
 These were the words, that was the place,
 By which God brought me into grace.

The first evidence of this 'grace' is when Saul thinks :

'I'll go and take Bill's hand.
 I'll up and say the fault was mine,
 He sha'n't make play for these here swine.'
 And then I thought that that was silly,
 They'd think I was afraid of Bill;
 They'd think (I thought it, God forgive me)
 I funk'd the hiding Bill could give me.

'Forgive me' and 'give me' are not a rhyme, but it is the fight, not the rhyme, which matters, and neither George Borrow nor Sir Arthur Conan Doyle could better Mr. Masefield's description. Saul is adjudged the winner, and the party adjourn to a public-house. On the way thither that half-hearted sinner if whole-hearted seducer—a curious blend of sensuality and sentimentality, not uncommon in men of his type—thus meditates concerning Christmastide,

When Christ's own star comes over the wood.
 Lamb of the sky come out of fold
 Wandering windy heavens cold.
 So they shone and sang till twelve
 When all the bells ring out of theirselves;
 Rang a peal for Christmas morn,
 Glory, men, for Christ is born.

Next we read of the foul talk and unclean stories told during the drunken debauch at the inn, with the interpolation of certain later views of Saul on religion and immorality. They strike one queerly in a setting almost Zolaesque in its realism :

Jim Gurvil said his smutty say
About a girl down Bye Street way.
And how the girl from Froggatt's circus
Died giving birth in Newent work'us.
And Dick told how the Dymock wench
Bore twins, poor thing, on Dog Hill bench ;
And how he'd owned to one in court,
And how Judge made him sorry for't.

From three long hours of gin and smokes,
And two girls' breath and fifteen blokes',
A warmish night, and windows shut,
The room stank like a fox's gut.

But Zola wrote only in prose ; and in poetry such realism as this should have no place. I do not write as a Puritan, nor as one who would emasculate art. The Art which is virile mates with Imagination, and the children of the union are virile and comely. When Art forsakes the lovely bride, Imagination, for unlovely Realism, the offspring of that mating is often grotesque and ill-shapen. Not of such a union are the children in art of Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, Wordsworth, and Tennyson. Coarseness of speech there is in Shakespeare's poetry, but little realism. In the immense bulk of his work, as compared with the slenderness of 'The Everlasting Mercy,' the coarse passages are few. Nor, in such matters, can Shakespeare's time be held to set a standard for our own. Are we to discard our habits of greater personal cleanliness because, in Shakespeare's time, there was less facility for a bath, and for men and even women to be verminous was not uncommon ? By poets a certain reticence must be observed—not to taboo this or that subject but only in regard to treatment. All human life is within the province of poetry—preferably that which is beautiful,

but not to the exclusion of that which is evil or ugly, so long as the treatment be noble, imaginative, and symbolic. Poetry interprets life by means of symbols of deep spiritual significance. When it ceases to deal with life symbolically, calling in instead the aid of realism, it ceases to be poetry.

If in an inn, or in the street, we hear foul language, there is no necessity—unless as evidence in a police court—to repeat in detail what was said. In literature—even in poetry—to convey an atmosphere of corruption, and to indicate moral corruption, is possible, without explicitly describing the corrupt act or recording the exact unclean word. If we cannot do so, our place is with the police-court reporters, and we have no business in literature, still less in poetry. Even in a well-conducted tavern, if any one used such language as we find in 'The Everlasting Mercy' he would be requested by the landlord to desist. To me, no Puritan, no Bowdlerizer, it does not seem fitting that in a poem language should be recorded to which objection would be taken if spoken in a respectably conducted public-house, as, for instance, the following couplet from 'The Everlasting Mercy' :

'I'll bloody him a bloody fix,
I'll bloody burn his bloody ricks.'

In presenting the Edmond de Polignac Prize of £100 to Mr. Masefield on behalf of the Royal Society of Literature, Mr. Edmund Gosse spoke of 'The Everlasting Mercy' as 'A narrative of conversion, a story of the light of God breaking into a dark soul.'

On the subject of conversion I had not hitherto thought of Mr. Gosse as an authority. Nor am I. But I recall a passage from *Margaret Ogilvy* in which Sir James Barrie writes, 'For when you looked into my mother's eyes you knew, as if He had told you, why God sent her into the world—it was to open the mind of all who looked to beautiful thoughts, and that is the beginning and end of literature.'

Beautiful thoughts there are in 'The Everlasting Mercy,'

but to the glowing tribute, which so great a critic as Mr. Gosse accords, some of us small critics are over-ready, insincerely, to act as chorus. One plays for safety in doing so, for if the great critics are in agreement with us—or, rather, if we are in agreement with the great critics—our judgement is not likely to be questioned. But cant is cant, whether talked of religion or of poetry. Were I to pretend that I think the passages I have quoted to be poetry, or, as part of a poem, to be other than repellent, I should be guilty of cant as well as of cowardice. Regret I must that so true a poet as Mr. Masefield should disfigure a poem, sometimes of great beauty, and in intention making beyond question for righteousness and purity, by descending to realism, which, to greater and so to truer art, would be unnecessary. And, to make an end of carping, I regret, too, that he should think it necessary in 'The Widow in the Bye Street' to put into the mouth of his characters such words as

'By Jesus ! chaps, I never meant to kill 'un,'

or, in 'The Everlasting Mercy' to associate, even as rhymes, two such words as those at the end of the following lines :

They went, and some cried, 'Good old sod !
She put it to him straight, by God !'

Returning to the narrative at the point where I broke off, we read (the passage is perhaps intended to prepare us for Saul's coming conversion) :

I opened window wide, and leaned
Out of that pigsty of the fiend.

What with the fight and what with drinking,
And being awake, alone there thinking,
My mind began to carp and tetter,
'If this life's all, the beasts are better.'

Soon after this, Saul tears off his clothes, and, smashing the bottles and tumblers, rushes out into the street.

A naked madman waving grand
A blazing lamp in either hand.
I yelled like twenty drunken sailors,
'The devil's come among the tailors.'
A blaze of flame behind me streamed,
And then I clashed the lamps and screamed,
'I'm Satan, newly come from hell,'
And then I spied the fire bell.

He rings it frantically and rushes on, to run amok at the property of 'parson, lawyer, squire.' Then comes one of those strange and lucid intervals in what seems to me to be less a narrative of conversion in the true sense of the word than of a mania, which fear of hell causes to assume a religious form.

At all three doors I threshed and slammed,
And yelled aloud that they were damned.
I clodded squire's glass with turves
Because he spring-gunned his preserves.
Through parson's glass my nozzle swishes
Because he stood for loaves and fishes.
But parson's glass I spared a tittle ;
He give me an orange once when little,
And he who gives a child a treat
Makes joy-bells ring in Heaven's street,
And he who gives a child a home
Builds palaces in Kingdom come,
And she who gives a baby birth
Brings Saviour Christ again to Earth.

These fourteen lines are, to me, illusion-destroying. One may believe, with Mr. Gosse, that it is 'the light of God' which converts Saul Kane, or one may have an uneasy feeling that it is John Masefield who—on paper—converts Saul Kane, and for the reason that to do so Mr. Masefield from the first intended. Take whichever view we may, these fourteen lines seem to throw some light upon Mr. Masefield's methods of work in 'The Everlasting Mercy.' The story is supposed to be told by Saul himself, and is so told except when, for Mr. Masefield's purpose, Saul must be shown as

under process of conversion. Then, as if even Mr. Masefield is uncertain of the reality of Saul's conversion, and cannot trust Saul to speak for himself, Mr. Masefield, disguised as Saul, comes upon the scene to take up the story. If the reader will look again at the lines just quoted he will see that the first eight are Saul's, the last six are Masefield's. Saul's last-spoken line is :

He give me an orange once when little,

and one would expect Saul to say 'give' instead of 'gave.' That being so, how comes it that, in the very next line, and twice in the lines which follow, Saul uses the very same verb, 'to give,' correctly, and as Mr. Masefield himself would use it? The last six lines are beautiful, but illusion is, as I say, destroyed, for the reason that the man who speaks them is not Saul Kane but John Masefield. Reading these and similar lines one seems to hear Mr. Masefield say : 'Here I must again interpolate a passage of Christian sentiment to indicate the change which is coming over Saul. Otherwise, when I finally convert my sinner—as of course I shall—the reader may think the conversion too sudden to be convincing.'

Quite so; but if Mr. Masefield would have us to believe that it is Saul who is speaking he should at least make Saul express himself in the language which would rise naturally to the lips of such a man. Saul is fast coming to see the error of his ways, but he would not, for that reason, be aware of, and correct, the errors in his English. He would cease from pouring out oaths and filth, but his manner of speech and his figures of speech, even if chastened, would still be so crude and so rude as to remind us of Saul Kane, the ex-poacher. As recorded in 'The Everlasting Mercy' they remind us only of John Masefield, the poet.

I am of the same opinion concerning many later and beautiful passages in this very powerful and remarkable poem. The final factors in Saul's conversion are three.

First we have—what fitter, in the leading of a broken-hearted sinner to Christ?—the lovely episode of the intervention of a little child. By that child's trust in him, and later by words spoken by the child's mother, the soul of Saul is profoundly stirred. Then, in a public-house—for Mr. Masefield knows human nature and its weakness too well not to show Saul as lapsing, and more than once, into 'the old Adam' (the words are his, not mine)—Saul finds his way to the Cross. God's angel to the sinner comes in the person of a Quaker lady of holy life. She it is who makes the appeal which brings the man to his knees :

' Saul Kane,' she said, ' when next you drink,
 Do me the gentleness to think
 That every drop of drink accurst
 Makes Christ within you die of thirst ;
 That every dirty word you say
 Is one more flint upon His way,
 Another thorn about His head,
 Another mock by where He tread,
 Another nail, another cross.
 All that you are is that Christ's loss.'

Thereafter is many a passage of supreme loveliness, which, as poetry, is the noblest that Mr. Masefield has written :

O Christ, who holds the open gate,
 O Christ, who drives the furrow straight,
 O Christ, the plough, O Christ, the laughter
 Of holy white birds flying after,
 Lo, all my heart's red field and torn,
 And Thou wilt bring the young green corn,
 The young green corn divinely springing ;
 The young green corn for ever singing ;
 And when the field is fresh and fair
 Thy blessed feet shall glitter there.
 And we will walk the weeded field,
 And tell the golden harvest's yield,
 The corn that makes the holy bread
 By which the soul of man is fed,
 The holy bread, the food unpriced,
 Thy everlasting mercy, Christ.

Reading these and other lines in 'The Everlasting Mercy,'

I asked myself for a moment, 'Ought I not to feel rebuked that, thus far in my reading, I have doubted the reality of the sinner's conversion ? Repelled as I may have been by the language sometimes put into the mouth of Saul, ought I not to remember that, in taking us among life's outcasts, life's fallen, among the drunkards and the foul-mouthed, Mr. Masefield follows a great Precedent ?' The next moment I knew that the appeal that had been made to me was all emotional. God's miracle the conversion of the man may have been ; but conversion, while changing the heart and the life, does not thus change the intellect. Saul Kane, even after conversion, would never so have thought and spoken. He might, in all sincerity, have preached such sermons as those of 'Billy Sunday.' He might have been what I have heard called 'a means of grace' at meetings held at street corners or in mission rooms by the Salvation Army ; but of feelings so wholly those of a poet, of thoughts so manifestly of high intellect, and so divinely expressed, Saul was incapable. They are the thoughts, feelings, and expressions, not of Saul Kane, the converted poacher, but of John Masefield, the poet.

And so, deeply moved, but all unconvinced, I take leave of this marvellous *tour de force*, which Mr. Gosse commends to us as 'A poem which would make memorable any year in recent literary history.' When Mr. Gosse, speaking as a poet and a critic, thus addresses an audience of students of poetry, I, as a member of that audience, sincerely say, 'Hear ! Hear !' But when Mr. Gosse stands, as it were, white-robed in the pulpit, or on the chancel-steps, to pronounce, with uplifted hands, a pious benediction on 'The Everlasting Mercy' as 'A narrative of conversion, a story of the light of God breaking into a dark soul,' one member of his congregation, at least, is unable sincerely to join in the 'Amen.'

COULSON KERNAHAN.

THE PROBLEM OF BUDDHISM

WHAT is the distinctive problem that Buddhism presents to Christianity? Viewed from many standpoints, Buddhism contains fewer features antipathetic to the Christian mind than any other ethnic religion. In the law preached by Gautama Buddha we find not a little that wins our warm assent. In its lofty moral teaching, condemnation of sin, and uncompromising attitude of sin's consequences, there are elements that afford a basis for high ethical teaching. Whatever may be the weaknesses and failings of its devotees, Buddhism, on its practical side, does not lend sanction to that prostitution of religious worship which characterizes some religions, neither does there follow in its train any religious custom which is revolting to the moral sense. Buddhism, again, does not transgress any generally accepted social law. Within its borders caste ceases to be, and there is no sanction of polygamy. Gautama denied all social relationships as detrimental to the attainment of the highest good, because from them springs 'desire,' and 'desire' is the root of all evil. The highest good can only be attained by those who are willing to leave the world and to live the monastic life. Marriage has no religious sanction. Whilst, then, we say there is nothing that offends the social sense in Buddhism, we have to qualify that statement by saying that much that is essential to a true and complete social system is lacking, and it is probably this lack which accounts in part for the moral laxity that characterizes many Buddhist countries. But whilst giving full value to the points in which Buddhism reveals its incompleteness, we cannot fail to hear in its positive moral message an echo—faint though it may be—of that divine voice that spoke in Galilee; we cannot fail to see a reflection—dim though it may be—of that 'light which lighteth every man coming into the world.'

In the face of this some may say, What is the special problem of Buddhism? Is there not here ground prepared for Christianity? Will not transition here be easier than elsewhere? Surely the Buddhist will more readily accept Christianity than the Hindu, the Mohammedan, or the Animist? Yet we venture to say that the course of time will show that no religion will offer a more effective resistance to Christianity than Buddhism. It may be objected that the fact that Buddhism enjoyed so short a sway in India points to its lack of permanence. It must, however, be remembered that Buddhism had only been established for a short time in India, as the life of religions goes, when the tide of faith swung back to Hinduism. The history of religions shows—Christianity no less than other religions—that many generations must pass before a religion is properly absorbed by the masses and becomes a part of their mental atmosphere and social custom. Buddhism had not been established long enough in India to eradicate the tradition of the gods and the instinct for the supernatural when the reaction came. When, as in Ceylon and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, Buddhism has held sway for centuries, become woven into the fabric of thought, moulded motion and determined character, become an atmosphere all-pervading, then we have a religion that presents, and will present, one of the greatest problems to Christian evangelism.

Where, then, lies the heart of the problem? In what lies the secret of Buddhism's power of resistance? It is not merely a case of tradition, prejudice, conservatism, though those elements are, of course, present, and are strong. Custom is one of the gods of the East, and not one of the least either. But in this Buddhism stands on common ground with other religions—indeed, one doubts whether these elements, though present, are as strongly developed as in other religions. Buddhism is characterized by an easy tolerance. In China and Japan it has found no difficulty in living side by side with other religions and in sharing

with them men's devotion. The average Buddhist will listen to Christian preaching with a genial tolerance that at first is pleasing, but which ends in being irritating. 'Yes,' he will say, 'your law is good, our roads are different, but they will meet in the end.' Converts to Christianity, whilst they may suffer parental anger and social inconvenience, are not subject to the bitter persecution and social upheaval that usually follows the conversion of a caste Hindu or Mohammedan. Political agitation and nationalist sentiment are now, it is true, introducing a new note of rancour and animosity. The priesthood of Burma is espousing politics with a zest. Defection from Buddhism is a betrayal of one's country—that is the burden of their teaching. But for all this it is not prejudice or custom or conservatism that constitutes the distinctive problem of Buddhism.

Neither is the problem, we venture to think, primarily a moral one. That, when properly understood, the moral and ethical demands of Christianity go deeper and call higher than those of any other religion is a statement which in these pages calls for no exposition or defence. But the moral teaching of Buddhism is stern and unbending, and undoubtedly presents a difficult way of salvation. To be a good Buddhist, who may hope for an appreciable advancement in the scale of existence in his next incarnation, involves the renunciation of much that goes to make up life on its human side. Love, family relationships, social enjoyment must go, for only in the monastic life can the law be fulfilled. The teaching on the consequences of sin is stern and relentless; there can be no forgiveness; the price must be paid to the last coin. Neither does Buddhism afford any external aid in the struggle against sin or in the alleviation of the consequences of sin. Only one ray of comfort falls on the path of the Buddhist, and that comes from the thought that the present existence is one of a countless chain of existences, and that, though he may lose moral ground in this existence, he can make it up in existences that are to

come. There we touch a serious flaw in the Buddhist system; one that blunts the urgency of the moral appeal and tends to foster indolence and procrastination. But for all that it is a cold and forbidding system. Why do not people, reared in such a creed, turn with joy to the Christian message, so tender in sympathy, so abundant in promise, so bright in prospect? Why does not their heart leap out to greet a Saviour who brings the promise of power, forgiveness, and immortality?

That leads us to the heart of our problem. It is not a social, racial, or moral one, though all these factors are present, varying in intensity with the individual and the temper of the hour. But they do not constitute the distinctive problem. We must go deeper than that to find the secret of Buddhism's power of resistance. We shall find it in a negation rather than in an assertion—which is typical indeed of Buddhist philosophy. The absence of any belief in an Eternal God is the heart of the problem. It has long been a point of contention whether the system is atheistic or agnostic; but even if it be held that, theoretically, Buddhism is simply agnostic, practically it is atheistic, because in motive and moral sanction, and in ultimate hopes, Buddhism has no place at all for God in the theistic sense of the word. Buddhism knows no God.

There we reach Buddhism's power of resistance, the factor that robs the Christian evangel both of its sting and its appeal. Buddhism's weakness is its strength. It is not a deep-rooted conviction, or a passionate loyalty, or a fanatical zeal that resists the Christian appeal, but a pale negation. The centre of resistance is not a rock but a vacuum. It is not affirmed that Buddhists have no loyalty, no conviction, no zeal; those are factors to be encountered everywhere. The distinctive problem is found in a negation, in the fact that Buddhism is a religion that has no theoretical belief in, or practical use for, an Eternal God.

Obviously this at once prejudices the Christian message.

In the approach to Hinduism, though we may meet social and religious prejudices that are bitter and remorseless, there will be found in the Hindu a belief in the supernatural which, while it may not convince him of the truth of Christianity, will strike a chord with which much of his own faith and experience harmonizes. In the approach to Mohammedanism we may encounter fanatical bitterness, but the Mohammedan's own faith in Allah will make it easy for him to understand the basic theism of Christianity, and, up to a certain point, accept it. But in the approach to Buddhism, whilst we find much in its moral teaching that approximates more closely to Christianity than that of any other religion, we are met by a negation of that which is the very life and soul of our faith. In attempting to explain the cause of creation, the meaning of life and ultimate destiny, a Supreme Being is left out utterly and entirely. Let the average Buddhist be asked how things came to be and his reply will be, 'I do not know.' Ask him what he thinks will happen after death and there will be the same answer. To the key questions 'Whence?' 'Whither?' Buddhism can afford no answer, for such questions cannot be answered without reference to some Power or Intelligence that is superior to the universal law of transition; such a Power or Intelligence Buddhism does not know.

Action the world is fashioning,
 By action man is made,
 'Tis action fetters every living thing
 As the whole chariot by the pole is swayed.

So reads a stanza in the *Vasttha Sutta*, and it is on these lines that Buddhism accounts for existence and seeks to explain its course.

What is one to make of the gospel if the existence of an Eternal God is denied? It is only necessary to pass in review a few of the leading doctrines of Christianity to see how far they are maimed and rendered ineffective by this denial.

An adequate conception of the Person and Work of Christ cannot be reached apart from a mental assent to, and a spiritual apprehension of, God, the Creator and Preserver of mankind. It is only when we see Christ silhouetted against the background of eternity that we see Him as He is. Now the Buddhist in his native wisdom may be brought to see that Christ is all that we claim for Him on His human side ; but Christ as ' the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth,' Christ as the revelation in time of the eternal attitude of God, Christ as the incarnation of that divine love from which all things come and which would fain gather all things to itself, Christ as God coming in fathomless love to seek His lost children—that the Buddhist finds it intensely hard to believe and even to understand, because the foundation of it all is lacking in his mental outlook, the root that gives life to the tree is not there—there is no God.

That the doctrine of forgiveness of sins is a stumbling-block to the Buddhist there is abundant evidence. In a questionnaire a number of experienced missionaries dwelt on the Buddhist attitude to this doctrine. ' The doctrine is contrary to the most fundamental of all their conceptions.' ' That there should be forgiveness of sins is an attractive thought, but it is too good to be true.' ' The most difficult point in the Christian religion to preach.' The last is the opinion of a Burmese convert to Christianity. In the moral realm the Buddhist regards the sequence of cause and effect as an immutable law, and the possibility of forgiveness does not enter into his thought. The consequences of a man's actions follow him ' as surely as the wheel follows the steps of the draught ox.' It might well be thought that Christianity, with its gospel of a Saviour and its promise of forgiveness, would open up a new vista of life and hope to which the Buddhist would joyfully turn. But, attractive though the doctrine may be, it is to them incredible—' too good to be true.' Who has power to forgive sins ? Who has authority to set aside the law ? Who is independent

of the working of Karma ? The Buddhist cannot conceive of such a person, for such a person must be above the law, superior to the law—the law-giver ; Buddhism knows not such a one. All alike, from Gautama down to the meanest and humblest, have been the slaves of Karma. Every man comes into existence as a result of Karma in a previous existence, and by acting a man creates fresh Karma, the effects of which must work themselves out. That belief is fundamental in Buddhist philosophy. Before, therefore, the Buddhist can grasp the meaning of the Christian doctrine of the forgiveness of sins or accept its blessings there must come within the horizon of his faith One who is the source and controller of all law, and who thus has the power to supersede law—the Eternal God, wise, beneficent, and purposeful.

A keynote of Buddhist philosophy is that all things are in a constant state of transition. ' Change and decay in all around I see ' the Buddhist can say with more conviction and feeling than the Christian ; what he cannot say is ' O Thou, who changest not, abide with me,' for of such a person he has no knowledge. It will be readily seen how difficult this makes it for him to accept the doctrine of immortality. The Christian belief in immortality is intimately and indissolubly bound up with faith in an Eternal God. In an atmosphere to which both personality and eternity are alien, immortality will appear but as a fantasy. ' Because I live, ye shall live also '—there lies the spring of the hope and the seal of the promise. The Christian doctrine of immortality has always been one of the most potent factors in its missionary appeal, but until the Buddhist can see behind the changing universe an unchanging Power he will fail to see the vision of ' the great beyond. '

Here, then, in its practical negation of a Supreme Being, we have the problem that confronts Christianity in its appeal to Buddhism. Here lies the centre of resistance. It is this which robs the gospel of its convincing and convicting

power, so that, in preaching Christ to the Buddhist, not only has the message to be made convincing, but the mental outlook and spiritual atmosphere has to be created in which alone the claims and promises will appear credible. The Buddhist's mind lacks the background of eternity, and the figure of Christ cannot be seen in all its persuasive and compelling beauty until there is painted into the picture the background of eternity.

The reflex influence on life and character of this fundamental defect in thought is most apparent. The instability which the Buddhist ascribes to the universe is reflected in his character. Their moral system has no effective sanction, no compelling motion, and no ultimate ideal; there is no law-giver, no judge, and to none are they responsible save to themselves, and so, noble though much of its moral teaching may be, it has one fatal defect—there is no God. This is the fundamental contribution that Christianity has to make to Buddhist thought—the revelation of the Father God, by whom all creation came to be and in whom all creation subsists, who loves all men, and would speak to them and draw them unto Himself. Until the Buddhist grasps that, the gospel is to him, save in isolated cases, a stumbling-block and foolishness. When the background of eternity is painted into the picture, then only will Christ be seen as He is.

H. CRAWFORD WALTERS.

THE TRUTH CONCERNING OCCULT PHENOMENA¹

UPON reading the article by Judge Bodkin in the last issue of this REVIEW, under the title 'The Appeal of the Supernatural,' one could not but exclaim with much emphasis '*Audi alteram partem.*' To ordinary Christian minds there is nothing very dreadful in the 'Appeal of the Supernatural,' rightly understood; nor is a man shown to be either fool or knave, even if he have a 'predilection for the supernatural.' Certainly, if any reader should think that the whole complex question concerning the validity of the testimony to human survival which is associated with modern Spiritism, can be settled by passing reference to the 'proceedings of the Psychical Research Society,' or the follies of three distinguished scientists, he will be labouring under an immense delusion. A double protest is indeed called for: (1) Against the unwarranted personal references and implications; and (2) Against the definitely unscientific principles involved.

1. The very first paragraph demands plain comment. A ceaseless, careful scrutiny of more than forty years compels my meeting its assertions with a direct negative. It is simply untrue that 'the most hopeless materialist would gladly be converted'; as it is also that 'the most devout Christian would welcome a scientific demonstration' of immortality. There are numberless exceptions to both these generalizations; and it is very far indeed from 'idle' to suggest that 'prejudice' provokes the incredulity which

¹ 'The Appeal of the Supernatural,' by Judge Bodkin, K.C., in *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1922; *New Evidence for Human Survival*, by Rev. C. Drayton Thomas (Collins, Pall Mall); *Man's Survival After Death*, by Rev. C. L. Tweedale (Grant Richards); *On the Threshold of the Unseen*, by Sir Wm. Barrett, F.R.S. (Kegan Paul).

192 TRUTH CONCERNING OCCULT PHENOMENA

so largely prevails in regard to the psychical phenomena associated with Spiritism.

Elsewhere I have given reasons for using this term carefully, and distinguishing it from 'Spiritualism.' In a word, the latter involves a Christian estimate of the phenomena which the former demonstrates. As Judge Bodkin's article makes no reference to the theology of Spiritualism, there is here no necessity to dwell upon that aspect of the case. We are only concerned now with the question of the evidence for the reality of human survival after death, which is offered on scientific and practical lines by modern occult research. Its theological or religious significance may stand over for the moment. The diatribes of the article before us are directed, as unmistakably as trenchantly, against all that development of modern psychical research which is conveniently and popularly described as 'Spiritism.' There are vast numbers, both of Christians and materialists, whose attitude of incredulity towards it is sheer prejudice ; as blind and deaf as was that of the Jews of old who 'stopped their ears and ran down upon Stephen,' because he was uttering truths which they would not tolerate. In his introduction to the recently published book by Mr. Drayton Thomas (Wesleyan minister) Sir William Barrett remarks, only too truly :

It seems strange that it should require courage on the part of a clergyman to try to establish experimentally an affirmative answer to the question, If a man die, shall he live again ? Yet until quite recently, few clergy, or other public men, dared risk their reputation by engaging in this quest.

I would, however, register here another protest. From the general references made and terms employed in the article before us, only one conclusion is possible, namely, that all those who are actually convinced, or even deeply impressed, by the reality of Spiritistic phenomena are—as Messrs. Clodd and McCabe will rejoice to confirm from the Agnostic standpoint—merely fit subjects to be stood upon the form, wearing

cap and bells, for the derision of every scientific Sadducee or sensible citizen. We are courteously told that they are all 'as little children in the hands of the cunning charlatans who pose as mediums'; that they are so superstitious as to 'give implicit credence to stories which are grotesque, fantastic, and absurd'; that a fair type of them all is found in Mr. Parnell, who 'gave implicit credence to the most childish superstitions'; or in Dr. Johnson, who 'began to be credulous where the most credulous people begin to be sceptical.' They are further credited with 'unresisting imbecility,' in giving 'their faith to the most absurd and incredible marvels.' And more to the same effect. As I have the honour to be personally acquainted with the three distinguished men of science who are singled out as special illustrations of the above euphemisms, I confess to no small throb of indignation at the insult conveyed in such contumely. Of all the thousands of individuals whom it has been my lot to know definitely these fifty years, I can think of none to whom such assertions are less applicable than to these three. To declare that their eminence in science and literature merely leaves them a babyish prey to the credulous and superstitious but 'irresistible appeal of the supernatural,' is as utterly false in fact as it is feeble in suggestion. In each case—as in that of a host of others who have been similarly convinced—their investigation started from, and maintained, the very opposite frame of mind to that with which they are here credited.¹ It is nothing less than slander

¹ Sir Oliver Lodge's words, from the chair of the British Association, were: 'Although I am speaking *ex cathedra*, as one of the representatives of orthodox science, I will not shrink from a personal note summarizing the result on my mind of thirty years' experience of personal research—begun without predilection, indeed with the usual hostile prejudice. But already the facts so examined have convinced me that memory and affection are not limited to that association with matter by which alone they can manifest themselves here and now, and that personality persists beyond bodily death.'—From the Presidential address delivered to the British Association for the

to whisper that men of this class—and many more who might be named—do not know the difference between superstition, or credulity, and valid evidence. All their works plainly show the contrary to those who, with a really 'open mind,' will do them justice. I hold no brief for Sir Conan Doyle's manner of expressing himself, but am bound to say that Judge Bodkin's sentence is a veritable boomerang; for no words could be more truly applicable to his own attitude, than these with which he pillories Sir Conan: 'I would remind him that begging a question is not the way to settle it, and when an objection is raised, it ought to be met with some answer more convincing than "blockhead."'

We are told, for instance, that 'it is necessary to emphasize the fact that in a field where trickery and fraud must confessedly be encountered, scientists are the least reliable investigators'—that is, are the greatest fools; for this is only a mellifluous way of saying 'Blockhead.' Unfortunately I cannot apologize for saying bluntly that the alleged 'fact' is not a fact at all, but a mere unwarranted assertion. It is a pure assumption, without any valid support, either in general fact or in the special case of the men of science named, that they are 'prone to forget the uncertainty of human action'; or that they 'fail to realize that the stronger the phenomenon, the stronger the evidence needed to compel belief.' Any honest student of their writings will see how false is such an insinuation. If space were permitted, I could fill whole pages of this journal with unmistakable

Advancement of Science, Birmingham, September, 1918. Lady Lodge's account is: 'When I was married, my husband was already far advanced in his investigations. But I could not accept it. I called it uncanny. My husband is the last man to force his opinions on any one, so the matter dropped. It was only after my brother had been taken, that I sat in séance with my husband, and received a message from my brother so clear, so unmistakable, that I could no longer doubt.' That is quite typical of a vast number of others, whose sincerity and keenness of mind are not disproved by any amount of personal contumely poured upon them.

proofs to the exact contrary of this *ipse dixit* of Judge Bodkin.

2. We must, however, turn to the other ground for strong protest, viz. the flagrant insistence upon unscientific principles here manifested. The writer makes great play with five words, upon which some plain comment seems really necessary. All the 'marvels' associated with Spiritistic investigation are said to be worse than worthless because dark, impossible, incredible, inexplicable, absurd. Let us briefly estimate this indictment.

1. One is prepared for the usual stricture, 'These miracles were all performed in the dark.' But it is at once the commonest, least applicable, most shallow and untrue of all objections. (i.) The pseudo-argument, by innuendo, is simple enough. Some frauds have been perpetrated in the dark. Therefore all that happens in the dark is fraudulent. Curious logic indeed; and just as reliable as to declare that some Christians have been hypocrites, therefore no Christians are genuine.

But (ii.) the shallowness of this innuendo is manifest, for all natural phenomena have their conditions; and for some, darkness may be just as essential as light for others. The ordinary photographer illustrates both cases. Why cannot he examine his undeveloped plates in the dark, to see whether they are in good condition? Why must he have light to take his picture, and dark to develop it? Is there anything necessarily fraudulent in the red light he is compelled to use?

(iii.) Again, the wholesale suggestion above is false in fact. For some of the most remarkable and significant occult phenomena, darkness is not necessary. Many of those which our critic would pronounce 'absurd,' actually take place in the light. Also, the insinuation that most sittings, with a view to such phenomena, are arranged in the dark in order to make trickery possible, is, in myriads of cases, simple slander. Furthermore, the suggestion that in the dark the minds of sitters are necessarily more or less

obfuscated, is far from the truth. To speak from personal knowledge, I should say that the exact contrary is what more often happens. But let us fairly examine the alleged reasons for all these sinister suggestions.

2. Greatest stress is laid by the critic upon what is 'impossible.' Faraday is quoted with marked approval, as saying that 'in approaching a new subject we should make up our mind *a priori* what is possible and what is not.' And the Judge adds, 'If such a rule were adopted, it is certain that many if not all the alleged miracles of Spiritualism would be summarily dismissed as unworthy of investigation.' Yes; and it is equally certain that on this principle every branch of modern science would have been choked in the birth—especially that branch with which Faraday was himself most acquainted. The writer declares that he has studied this whole matter of occult phenomena 'with a mind open to conviction.' Now, it appears that such study has always started with a predetermination to reject whatever seems to him impossible, without any further scrutiny. Is that being open to conviction? At least three things must be said here as plainly as courteously.

(i.) Faraday notwithstanding, this is an utterly unscientific attitude. For science has nothing whatever to do with the 'impossible.' Its concern is with things that are; not with what can, or cannot, be. Indeed, (ii.) nothing is more unscientific than the assumption that certain phenomena or events are impossible. (iii.) The only impossibilities for science are such as involve either a downright contradiction in terms, or manifest self-contradiction. But this does not apply to any of the marvels which so excite our critic's wrath. Whether it be Sir Oliver Lodge hopping on his head to St. Paul's, or a human body floating in and out of a window, or the 'astounding story' of Florrie Cooke and Katie King—all these are not one whit more impossible than, a century ago, wireless telegraphy and aviation would have seemed even to the men of science of that day; or the

ordinary motions of the earth, which we now know to be true, did seem to thoughtful men before Copernicus.

3. But we are assured that all these occult phenomena are 'incredible.' That term is certainly calculated to frighten the simple-minded, but we must face it with the courage which bogies always require. Three small questions make great difference to its significance. 'Incredible'? But when? To whom? And why?

(i.) When? Only a few years ago, it was absolutely incredible that severe surgical operations could be performed without any pain for the patient. It was then also equally incredible that typhoid fever could be prevented; or that the fatality of diphtheria could be reduced almost to nil; or that a word could be sent to America in a few seconds; or that a man could talk to his wife when he remained at home and she was in mid ocean. In the early part of the nineteenth century a competent expert declared it incredible that a train could ever safely exceed the speed of twelve miles an hour. The other day a motor-car raced round Brooklands at one hundred and thirty miles an hour. So time counts for something.

Again (ii.) to whom incredible? To ordinary capacities many of the things which daily happen around us would seem incredible, if they were not actual. Hence the old saying, '*Credo quia impossibile.*' Knowing something by experience of the difficulties of playing both organ and violin, if any one had assured me that a blind man could play as Alfred Hollins does, it would have seemed absolutely incredible—if I had not sat by him and seen him do it. If, further, one were told that in the very midst of a most complicated and exacting performance on the violin, the E string suddenly snapped, and the performer went on, with perfect intonation, to the end, as if nothing had happened, I confess I should have said it was incredible—if I had not been present when Ysaye actually did it. Has the reader ever had opportunity to scan the examination papers for the mathematical tripos

at Cambridge? Most well-educated people could hardly follow a line of them. Is it, then, credible that they could all be done, so as to secure the Wranglership, by a girl of twenty-one, a clerk in the Salvation Army? At all events she has done it; so that capacity also counts for something, as to what is incredible.

But also (iii.) why? In Paul's language, 'Why is it judged incredible with you, if God doth raise the dead?' How much or how little of Christian faith lies behind this critic's onslaught one cannot discern; but certainly, this rejection of alleged fact, on the sheer ground of incredibility, would have strangled Christianity at the very outset; even as it still constitutes the main objection to the acceptance of that resurrection of Jesus with which Christianity stands or falls.

4. When the question with which we are here concerned is pressed, it comes to this: the phenomena of Spiritism, no matter how witnessed as facts, by sane, intelligent, honest witnesses, year after year, are 'impossible' because they are 'incredible'; and they are 'incredible' because they are 'inexplicable.' The pseudo-summary is:

The fallacy which underlies the position assumed by the Spiritualists, is the omission or the refusal to realize that witnesses cease to be credible when they testify to the incredible.

Well, in that case, none of the early witnesses to Christianity were credible; and the Christian faith rests, as its opponents say, upon an illusion. But let us look more closely into this dictum of our critic. He goes on to say, 'The Spiritualists regard human testimony as infallible even when opposed to the laws of nature.' Those who are here criticized certainly do not regard human testimony as at any time 'infallible.' But as to incredibility, let us plainly ask, is it, or is it not, 'opposed to the laws of nature,' that a man should rise from the dead? If not, the whole of this contention falls to the ground. But if it be, then, on these principles, the early witnesses to Christ's

resurrection were deluded, and Christianity's foundation becomes sand. Turning, however, to modern fact, this statement is both untrue in general, and specially untrue as applied to the 'most distinguished scientific apostles' of the occult. To assert the above in regard to these careful cultured investigators, is simple insult. One cannot imagine a falser avowal concerning such men as Lodge, Barrett, Crookes, Doyle, Flammarion, Geley, Crawford, and a host of others, than to say that 'it is an axiom with them that the witness whom they choose to regard as trustworthy, can neither mistake nor deceive.'

But on what ground is any phenomenon, deliberately attested by competent witnesses, pronounced 'incredible'? Because it is 'impossible'? But that is merely an unwarranted begging of the whole question. It seems that a strange phenomenon is impossible because it is incredible; and it is incredible because it is impossible. Such logic is a long way from being either scientific or rational. What, then, is left to justify this wholesale condemnation of the occult? Just this, that it is 'inexplicable,' and therefore 'absurd.' But if the inexplicable is always the incredible, will our critic say what is left that is credible? For instance, Judge Bodkin has doubtless thought about this article before he wrote it. I venture, therefore, to make him this offer, that if he will explain the processes of thought, in his or any other human brain, I will undertake to explain any marvel connected with Spiritism which he deems incredible. Whilst as regards the 'ectoplasm,' which he cannot 'swallow,' I will further offer to explain it to the very uttermost, if he will just explain how the marks of black and white upon this printed page convey ideas to the mind of the reader. The physiological details of the process would be as useless as interesting. For no man of science living can explain how it is that myriads around us rejoice in clear vision, and in the power to read and understand. To compare with such realities the getting of a live rabbit out of a conjurer's hat

is paltry. Every one knows that the conjurer's trick consists in first putting in what he means to get out. How he does it, is his living. But to assume that every inexplicable, occult phenomenon is similarly a trick, is again mere begging of the question, with wholesale libel thrown in. Professor Chas. Richet, the first physiologist in Europe, is not a Spiritualist, but as an honest scientific investigator he can 'swallow' what the representative of law cannot. He has recently testified to this effect :

A remarkable experience I once had, took place in the presence of Sir Oliver Lodge, Frederic Myers, and Ochorowicz. I firmly held the hands of the medium, but a third hand touched my face and struck my shoulder. My three colleagues heard the blow I received. It was a manifestation of what I have called ectoplasm.

At all events it needs a brave critic—one might say more—to declare that these men were only big, credulous babies with 'a predilection for the supernatural.'

5. As to what is 'absurd,' even Mr. Blatchford is now asking publicly, 'Why call it absurd to seek to penetrate the veil?' But in regard to Judge Bodkin's two plain questions, they admit of equally plain answer.

Granting the intervention of spirits in these purposeless performances, how do Professor Barrett and his co-believers explain them?

They do not profess to explain them; any more than their critic can explain his own consciousness. But, as men of science, they recognize facts which they cannot critically deny. They are looking for explanation, but do not regard any rash cutting of the Gordian knot as likely to help in a rational quest. Again,

Admitting a control, do they contend that it was in the power of the control to dispense with natural laws of universal application, to suspend the action of gravitation, and to abstract from fire the property of heat?

No, they do not. As men of science they know that the suspension of a natural law is not the same as to 'dispense with' it. This critic suspends the law of gravitation every

time he goes for a walk. All modern aviation sets it at defiance ; whilst the late King Edward VII, on one occasion, at the bidding of a scientific professor, plunged his naked hand into molten metal, and took no harm. But the 'spheroidal state' does not ' dispense with ' natural law.

The stress on asserted 'tricks,' and their imitation by conjurers, may be dismissed in a word. (i.) Conjurers acknowledge their performances to be tricks, but those associated in séances earnestly deny this. Some of them may be liars ; but certainly it does not follow that they all are. (ii.) Conjurers' tricks are always done by means of special apparatus, and never attempted without such. But the most marvellous occult phenomena occur without any apparatus at all. I have shaken hands with a ghost, coming apparently from nowhere, on Maskelyne's platform. But will that gentleman undertake to raise the same 'spirit,' or do his other clever 'reproductions,' apart from the complex machinery of his hall ? Until that is done, in a bare room devoid of all such means, as many of the most remarkable occult phenomena are, all talk of comparison is sheer mockery—mere advertisement of a show.

Much more might indeed here be said, truly and trenchantly. For it is gross misrepresentation to print, 'Our sole duty is implicit belief,' as the attitude adopted or desired by such men as Dr. Geley. The assumption is that if only fraud, self-delusion, telepathy, and the subliminal consciousness, be applied as an acid test, one or other of these will dissolve away every alleged marvel into credulous moonshine. If the reader will fairly study any one of the three books mentioned at the head of these lines, he will be able to judge for himself whether such a suggestion is true or false. Only he must remember that to study three books is not the same as personal investigation for thirty years. As Sir William Barrett truly says, ' It is hardly possible to convey to others, who have not had a similar experience, an adequate idea of the strength and cumulative force of the evidence that has

compelled one's own belief. It is this cumulative force of the evidence, coming from different places and different witnesses, that carries conviction.' But as a rule, with few exceptions, critics of Spiritualism, or the occult, speak in all the confidence of ignorance, as regards personal investigation. Not one in ten—or fifty—has examined for himself, or taken any part in definite research.

Meanwhile, out of many experiences, I will mention but one, and invite an explanation of the facts, on any of the just-suggested lines. At a recent meeting of a circle of a dozen ordinarily intelligent and absolutely sincere persons, where I was present, the medium—a plain, unlettered man—declared that a Mr. H—— had come on purpose to speak to me; did I know him? I had never heard of such a person. It was then stated that forty years ago he lived in the town of B——. His profession, with some fifteen other exact details as to his name, residence, work, assistants, &c., were given, by way of evidence of his personal continuity. Having been connected with Methodism, he came to me, as the only Methodist present. I said nothing; but carefully noted all details. Neither the medium nor any other member of the circle had ever been to B——, or knew any more about it, or him, than I did. But having a friend there, I wrote, without giving any hint why, to ask if such and such statements were true. I numbered them definitely, only asking him to put 'Yes,' or 'No,' to each item of what had been said. In a few posts I received a reply, with 'Yes' appended to each. Since then, Mr. H—— has returned several times, to ask if we desired any further evidence.¹ I wait for the explanation.

If it be asked, What is the worth of such happenings, supposing they are taken as true? the answer is not far to seek. Sir William Barrett's estimate is modest enough:

That there is an unseen intelligence behind these manifestations is

¹At his own suggestion he has supplied more than 200 exact details of reminiscences of persons and places, forty years ago, all of which have been verified.

all we can say ; but that is a tremendous assertion, and if admitted destroys the whole basis of materialism.

But John Wesley anticipated him, when he wrote that

If but one account of the intercourse of men with departed spirits be admitted, the whole castle in the air of deism, atheism, materialism, falls to the ground. I know of no reason why Christians should suffer even this weapon to be wrested out of their hands.

And there is this to be added. If one case be admitted to be true, the door is open to a myriad more instances, and it is this which constitutes the gravity of the whole consideration.

I know that it is fashionable to say that materialism is dead; and that Christians ought to need no other support for their faith than what they have been accustomed to read or to hear. But neither of these allegations bears honest scrutiny ; and Christ's own treatment of Thomas carries with it a significance which no amount of denunciation, whether clerical or sceptical, can conceal or annul. This much at least is certain, that if we are bound in duty to reject all the inexplicable as being incredible, and dismiss as impossible what trustworthy witnesses assert, because it transcends all that we have thought to be natural, there is an end of Christianity. For Christianity rests upon the living Christ; that is, the Christ of history who wrought miracles ; who was transfigured as He talked with Moses and Elijah ; who rose from the dead, and 'showed Himself alive by many infallible proofs,' in a 'supernatural' body, for sufficient time to create witnesses who 'went everywhere preaching Jesus and the resurrection.' But all this is absolutely inexplicable. And if that means that it is all incredible, then Christianity itself is impossible for evermore. Mr. F. W. H. Myers was no childish victim of superstitious credulity, and it was not without critical, long-continued, impartial scrutiny—spending more years on his quest than most critics spend hours—that he wrote :

I venture now on a bold saying ; for I predict that in consequence of the new evidence all reasonable men, a century hence, will believe the resurrection of Christ ; whereas, in default of the new evidence, no reasonable men a century hence would have believed it.

With the reality of the spirit world, the Gospel of Christ stands or falls ; and in days like ours when, to an extent far beyond what the Churches acknowledge, questions, oppositions, hindrances to faith, denials of faith, abound, with a boldness, a subtlety, a persistence, never before known, faith may well join with science and common sense and the deepest of all human instincts, to welcome any substantiation *in fact*, of that realm beyond the range of our half-dozen senses to which death is but an introduction. By watching for, making sure of, and appreciating such testimony, all the ordinary evidences, experiences, promises, of Christianity have nothing whatever to lose, and very much to gain.

FRANK BALLARD.

JUDGE BODKIN makes this reply : Dr. Ballard is very angry at my want of respect for Spiritualism, and in his anger he mistakes invective for argument, is unintentionally inaccurate, and finds offence where none was intended. In the article he attacks I sincerely professed the most profound respect for the scientific attainments and achievements of the eminent men whose names (unhappily in my view) are associated with Spiritualism, nor can I think any of them insulted by comparison with Dr. Johnson. Dr. Ballard is wholly mistaken in imagining that the phrase 'unresisting imbecility' was applied by me to such men. That he himself is not unduly impressed by the scientific reputation of an opponent is plain when he condemns 'the utterly unscientific attitude of Faraday.'

What seemed to me the self-evident statement that 'the most hopeless materialist would gladly be converted from his dismal belief and that the most devout Christian would welcome scientific proof of immortality' is met by 'a direct

negative' on the part of Dr. Ballard. 'The wish is father to the thought'; all men desire life after death, but according to Dr. Ballard, they are prevented by 'blind prejudice' from accepting from Spiritualists conclusive proof of the truth of what they most ardently wish to believe. May it, without offence, be suggested that prejudice is more likely to operate the other way and promote unreasoning credulity.

My statement that mediums for the most part work in the dark is fiercely stigmatized by Dr. Ballard as 'the most shallow and untrue of all objections.' This darkness, we are assured, is insisted on by the Spiritual 'controls.' Many reasons may be suggested why the obscurity should be convenient to the medium, but Dr. Ballard has none to offer why the visitants from the 'other side' should object to day-light.

I will not follow Dr. Ballard in his attempt to confuse the uniform, beneficent, self-proved marvels of science with the spasmodic, purposeless, and puerile tricks of mediums. But I may be allowed to suggest that he falls into some confusion of thought when he purports to deal with my question as to gravitation. For myself I must humbly disclaim the power, whether standing, sitting, or walking, to dispense with the law of gravitation. It is in full operation all the time, with the aviator as with me, though sometimes counteracted by other forces of nature.

As to King Edward and the molten metal the scientific professor claimed no psychic intervention. It needed no ghost come from the dead to secure the immunity of the King. If the mediums, like the conjurers, do not dispense with any natural laws, there is no need for supernatural intervention. Q.E.D.

Dr. Ballard violently quarrels with my statement that 'it seems an axiom with Spiritualists that the witness whom the Spiritualists choose to regard as trustworthy can neither mistake or deceive.' This statement provokes him to very strong language indeed. It is 'a simple insult,' he writes,

to the distinguished apostles of the occult. 'One cannot imagine a falser statement.' Yet I venture to think that Dr. Ballard fully justifies my statement so far as he is himself concerned in the one concrete example of 'occult phenomena' which his article submits for examination, presumably because he considers it the least assailable.

Surely the explanation is simplicity itself. Either 'the plain, unlettered medium' or one of the circle of a dozen 'absolutely sincere persons' in confederation with him, had visited the town of B —, ascertained the facts, and planted them on the too credulous Dr. Ballard. This simple explanation commends itself to my mere common-place intelligence. Dr. Ballard, with implicit faith in medium and circle, insists that the ghost of Mr. H — returned from beyond the grave to inspire an unlettered stranger with trivial personal gossip about himself for the benefit of an audience who had never heard of him before. So be it.

Finally, Dr. Ballard quotes with approval the astounding statement of Mr. F. W. H. Myers :

I venture now on a bold saying; for I predict that in consequence of the new evidence all reasonable men, a century hence, will believe the resurrection of Christ; whereas, in default of the new evidence, no reasonable men a century hence would have believed it.

With all my force I protest against this attempt to confound Christianity with Spiritualism. Reasonable men have believed in the great truths of Christianity for over nineteen centuries, and they will continue in the same faith, when this foolish craze has disappeared. Spiritualism is the enemy, not the ally of Christianity, and I rejoice to know that by the oldest of Christian churches, to which I have the honour to belong, it is unreservedly repudiated.

ART AND BEAUTY

THE meaning of art is one of those subjects which I find extremely interesting so long as one is only reading or chatting about them, but which assume a terrifying aspect when one has to write down one's exact impressions on paper. Doubtless my incompetence to deal worthily with the matter is the first and principal cause of this, but I must also confess that the fluidity of such strange concepts as the following—beauty, aesthetic emotion, art, creation, ideal, impression, nature, style, life, expression, originality, and harmony—makes these studies, to my mind, as delicate as they are seductive. I cannot say if it will ever be possible to subject these impalpable realities to the laws of positive science; meanwhile, it is quite permissible to apply to them every mental faculty—judgement, taste, feeling, intuition, and reason. It is even necessary to consider them simply and honestly, if possible; for it is perfectly true, as every one is so fond of saying, that so important a matter as art ought not to be the prerogative of a few initiated individuals, but rather the common possession of the masses. How difficult, all the same, to succeed in really establishing any principle in such matters! And when we feel won over on reading some fine work dealing with art, is it not more particularly the author's talent, the vivacity of his feelings, and the delicacy and refinement of his nature, that convince us most?

True art is the realization of beauty; beauty is aesthetic emotion rendered objective; these are two of the most insistent thoughts that strike one in a consideration of this subject. Art is the creator of beauty. Does this mean that the realization of beauty is its distinctive and exclusive purpose? Do the fine arts appear to be radically distinct from the practical and industrial arts? Is it the artist's

sole function to procure for us with regard to things—leaving out of account their real meaning—that special and subtle, that refined enjoyment which, with knowing air, a few privileged individuals reserve for themselves under the name of aesthetic emotion ?

It must be acknowledged that this is the conception of art we seem to obtain from numerous works which have been admired for centuries past. In times of so-called decadence or licentiousness, more particularly, it would indeed appear as though art scornfully rejects every other end than beauty, on the ground that beauty exhibits its full power and freely exercises its special influence upon the human soul only when it is liberated from all connexion with accessory ends, such as utility, truth, and goodness, and stands alone in all its sovereign dignity and independence.

Still, while it is practically possible that art should have the representation of beauty as its sole end, is this fitting or in conformity with the true idea of human life regarded as a whole ? It seems tolerably certain that art, directed along this channel, is diverted from its original purpose, which, most certainly, is a utilitarian one. Art is the making of objects intended to ensure the possibility and charm of life under the more or less favourable conditions in which man finds himself placed. When man had passed beyond the satisfaction of elementary needs, art sought to satisfy desires and aspirations which were still needs—needs of the soul, gradually detaching itself from its material envelope and endeavouring to live for itself. Thus, seizing upon those forms of animals, plants, or objects that interested man, art snatched them from destruction by fixing their image on some durable material. Art multiplied monuments, i.e. signs calculated to recall the memories of things and events. It endowed with immortality beings dreaded or beloved, their features and occupations, habits and tastes. It brought into being another world, made up of its impressions, its loves and fears, desires and dreams, a pledge

of the reality of its inner life and of its capacity for immortality.

Whilst following after the useful, art encountered the beautiful and attached itself thereto. What could be more appropriate than to endue with every conceivable perfection the image we form of those we revere ? The beautiful, however, in the spontaneous and primitive development of art, is a means, not an end. It is not a form apprehended in itself, added on to the object and intended to make one forget this latter ; it is the object itself fulfilling its purpose in the most seemly, the most favourable and perfect fashion.

Such is art in its beginnings ; and every time it resolves to rise from a state of decadence or spring afresh to newness of life, it begins by flinging aside all vain adornments and once more setting before itself a serious and real end, one closely connected with the conditions of life, with the beliefs and ideas of the times. It seems advisable to accept this classic conception of art rather than the doctrine of so-called aestheticism, which, setting beauty apart, raises it on to a pedestal where all else—truth, utility, thought, life, desires, and beliefs—play no other rôle than that of a support.

Beauty, indeed, is delightful to contemplate and enjoy. Still, if separated from all that of which it naturally forms part, and cultivated for itself alone, it increases intensity of life in certain parts of our being only to diminish and enfeeble it in others equally noble and important. Watch this lover of beauty, skilled in distilling it from things and enjoying it in and for itself alone. He sees it emerge carelessly from the basest as from the noblest of realities, from the commonplace as from the rare, from matter and from spirit, from evil and from good, and even from the ugly as well as from those things for which we reserve the name of beautiful. And as he is convinced that any point of view to which one rises only because of a sensibility of choice refined by complicated rites cannot be other than vastly superior to that of the generality of men, he is naturally

inclined to regard as mediocre those differences in utility or moral value which attract the crowds though they do not affect the aesthetic quality of things. Thus he leaves to others, suited only to a life of action or of thought, the task of working for the evolution of the world, i.e. of supplying material for his own delicate sensibility, his exquisite capacity of intuition. And, indeed, by constantly straining all his faculties in the direction of the beautiful *per se*, as the object of an exclusively aesthetical enjoyment or satisfaction, he deprives them of the development they would acquire by following after their own distinctive objects ; he would introduce into practical or scientific life—were he to consent to engage therein—an intellect and will perverted by artificial usage or practice.

Aestheticism—opposed as it is to the essential origins and ends of art, despised by the masses who evidently possess neither the means nor the leisure requisite for initiation into these learned mysteries, an agent of deliquescence and dissoluteness to those who find their chief delight in it—is anything but suitable to the man who is determined to live, think, and act in a sane, effective way.

It does not follow that one must be sparing in admiration of all those masterpieces in which the effort to attain beauty, and nothing else, has been the determining or dominant factor. This form of art has its own rationale, its necessary rôle. In every kind of activity, habit tends to change means into ends. For instance, it makes us believe that we are fond of money or adornment for their own sake.

A useful property, moreover, though fraught with danger. It is by regarding itself as a whole, attributing to itself some absolute value, even rising in insurrection against the whole from which it is separating, that the part realizes all the powers that were within it, and looks upon the universe as dowered with unknown perfections. Should we know how far the dominion of the will over soul and body could extend if those who are called ascetics had not done their utmost

to carry the experiment to its final limits ? In the moral world, an Antisthenes and a Pascal are creators of will. Similarly, in order that the aesthetic faculty may acquire its full development in mankind, it is necessary that, at intervals, it should be exercised without hindrance, to the exclusion of the other faculties. Beauty reigning alone, and shedding light upon the world, is a transfiguration of things, a mystic vision, which the sun of real life will dissipate, though its memory will not be effaced. Periods of decadence, by idolizing the beautiful, awake in the human soul powers that will endure, and which, some day becoming incarnate in geniuses of wider and more virile human sympathies, will fix and solidify, as it were, in useful works—expressions and instruments of the real life of the people—those dainty, irresolute graces or charms, born of a fancy that is free.

If, then, one would rightly appreciate that form of art which recognizes no other object than beauty, it is advisable to regard it as a necessary phase—though nothing more than a phase—of the development of art in general. At certain periods it is of moment that beauty be looked upon as an end in itself, so that mankind may develop the power to endow great things with the prestige of a beauty worthy of them. In the man who thus judges the parts from the standpoint of the whole the love of beauty is no longer a loose and debilitating sentiment. For to such a mind this love has no separate existence ; it cannot really be distinguished from the vaster love of life and humanity, which beauty cannot satisfy. That is a pious love, which, in its object, loves some element of the harmony of the whole. Everything is good in the eyes of him who sees things in their relation to the universal result. Καὶ κοσμεῖς τὰ ἀκοσμητὰ καὶ οὐ φίλα τοι φίλα ἔστιν. ‘Thou bringest order where all was disorder, and those things that are hostile thou makest friendly,’ sang Cleanthus in his ‘Hymn to Zeus.’

Such are the lines along which my thought wandered as I sat meditating on art as the realization of beauty. Now

I will set forth the reflections suggested by the second thought—beauty as aesthetic emotion rendered objective.

Is it really, or exclusively, an emotion that lies at the foundation of our perception of beauty? Have not other powers of the soul an equally essential part therein? I do not intend to enter into this question, for manifestly emotion becomes something far more comprehensive and explanatory when it is regarded as aesthetic. I will merely consider the relation of the internal phenomenon, whatever it be exactly, to the form in which it becomes objectified.

It would seem as though, in certain modern theories wherein the principle of an uncompromisingly mystical metaphysics appears to be applied to art, there were a set desire to eliminate all the objective formulae that have been used by preceding ages, to exhibit no acquaintance with known or existing styles, and to regard form as the direct result of the artist's thought or emotion. Here we should have the living soul rejecting all the traditions in which the past enfolds it, and, of itself alone, creating, *ex nihilo*, the form which is to express its impressions. This altogether new form, immediately it is detached from its spiritual principle, would be infinitely supple, it is imagined, and capable of interpreting the faintest shades of emotion with a fidelity and precision, a clearness and power of suggestion, that could not be possessed by rigid outworn forms invented in other circumstances for the expression of different thoughts.

Can aesthetic emotion thus become objective of itself, without having recourse to established forms; or, when we say that it becomes objective, are we thereby to understand that it takes possession of previously existing forms, which it uses in its own way, for the purpose of making them mean something different from what they meant in the works of our predecessors?

From the historical point of view the pretence to create out of nothing a concrete form, by the power of emotion alone, seems to meet with little justification. As a matter

of fact, apostles of new ideas have always begun by utilizing the forms ready at hand.

'Sur des pensers nouveaux faisons des vers antiques,' said Chénier. Synesius moulded Christian thoughts to Anacreon's rhythm. Only by degrees, as it grows and develops in the struggle for life and victory, does a new idea burst through a form that has become irksome, and fashion for itself, out of elements it seeks on all sides, a form entirely original and as adequate and transparent as possible.

It appears necessary that things should progress in this fashion. Invention, indeed, acts first upon idea, emotion, and intuition, which gush up, as though supernaturally, from the soul itself. The poet, said Plato, is a winged being. It is not the operation or working of visible and material things that produces his creations ; he eludes their grasp, soars above them, and receives his inspiration from on high. But if the conception of the idea is thus immaculate, so to speak, on the other hand it is inconceivable that the idea bent on developing and expressing itself should keep separate from the given, the material. No real complete thought exists without becoming incarnate in an image, a form, a symbol. Now, symbols belong to the world of sense, and the power of the mind, as regards this world, which is governed by the law of inertia, is far less direct and penetrating than the power it possesses—to use practical language, the language of life—as regards its thoughts and emotions. We have systems of symbols in which we find condensed the efforts and gropings, experiences and successes, of thousands of artists. These systems are beings ; they possess the force of habit, tradition, and logic, an organization that prevails in the struggle for life. How is a system of forms to be improvised that is capable of standing against these established forms ? The pure idea is too far removed from matter, and this latter is too much opposed to the creation of a new and appropriate style, thus to be capable of coming about suddenly. In the translation of

an idea by some particular form there is an element of convention and usage. Time, custom, tentative methods, are all necessary in order to create between human beings that tacit understanding which will make the meaning of symbols manifest.

Even though recourse to existing formulae were not imposed on the innovator by the very laws of production and expression, it would yet be practically necessary if the work is to be intelligible. Form is a translation, and all translation is an intermediary between the original and a certain group of men. It is essential that translation be in the language of those to whom it is addressed. Thus, however eager to create a thinker may be, it does not enter his mind to invent, ready made, a language for his own use, under the pretext that the existing language was made to express thoughts different from his own. A Descartes uses not only the language of the schoolmen, but also that of his own country, the vulgar idiom. A Hugo expects to be purer and more classical than Racine in point of style. It is in the mould of ancient tragedy that a Corneille, a Racine, and even a Dumas frame the conceptions of their modern genius. A philosophy like Kant's, pregnant with revolution and change, is fitted into the rigid and superannuated form of Wolff's system. The very religions that announce a second birth speak to men in the language of their times, and appropriate the institutions, science and philosophy, customs and rites, traditions and beliefs, which they find in the societies they are bent upon winning over to themselves.

That, however, is but a starting-point. The given form in which a new idea becomes embodied is not its substitute, but rather its instrument. This form, indeed, is heterogeneous, and ill suited to the service required of it. The idea is strengthened, acquires more and more definiteness and prominence, becomes itself more and more, by struggling with a form which disowns it. Who has not experienced this reaction of form on thought? Whilst Victor Hugo was

seeking more harmonious and appropriate verse, he was at the same time finding stronger, simpler, and truer thought.

The natural result is that the idea endeavours to render more supple this form, which is both intractable and necessary ; the original form is modified, enriched, differentiated, and developed by circumstances in an unexpected direction, or even actually replaced by another form. However it be, changes arise which could not be explained solely by a spontaneous and logical development of the pre-existing form. The idea has turned the mechanical forces to its advantage, and as far as the invincible dualism of mind and matter will allow, has gradually woven a visible envelope, which appears suited to itself alone.

This is what we observe in the life of societies, where new customs create new laws ; in literature, where the play of thought gradually transforms language and style ; in religion, where life and vitality are shown by a natural propensity for stripping of their old outworn elements the philosophical and scientific, theological and political traditions handed down from previous civilizations, that they may assume forms fitted to maintain the communion of religious thought with contemporary society.

It would be strange if art proved an exception to these general laws of objectivation. To dispense with forms and style, eagerly to pursue a fluid amorphous form, is a simple contradiction ; for, in such art, the idea would not be really translated, and, under the pretext of immediate expression, it would be indiscernible. The idea or the aesthetic emotion is indeed the essence of the beautiful, but this essence must be made objective, and objectivation is possible and beneficial only by using signs previously elaborated by mankind ; signs, too, which have nothing absolute about them, and which it is the artist's business to mould and transform indefinitely, until they are adapted to his own idea.

EMILE BOUTROUX.

Authorized Translation by FRED ROTHWELL.

THE BIRTH OF A RACE

THE cry of nationalism, which was on the lips of all progressive people when the war began, is already out of date. It is race consciousness that matters to-day. For three centuries great world questions have revolved around nationalistic politics. But slowly another factor has emerged, and the supreme problems which statesmen will have to handle for the next few decades will be problems of race-contact—black and white in America and Africa, yellow and white in the Far East, brown and yellow and white in the Pacific. The day of the super-race is done.

Race and nationality are fundamentally distinct. The one is natural, the other is artificial. Race is due to physiological and psychological similarity ; it is the bond of kinship ; nationality is due to political pressure, historical exigencies, and identity of residence ; it is the link of neighbourhood. Which of these two bonds is the stronger is clear to every one. National consciousness may gain expression, as in war, more readily and effectively, but that is because nations have for long been organized units. Race consciousness is only just beginning to emerge, and has as yet no specific machinery for effective expression. Should it ever be uncontrollably stirred it would gather up into itself all the lesser loyalties.

For four centuries the white race has been extending its sway. When the Renaissance began to quicken the pulse-beats of Western Europe the white race was mainly confined to a comparatively small corner on the map. To-day it occupies two-fifths and controls four-fifths of the habitable earth. It is an astonishing situation, impossible of conception before the days of Columbus and Colet. At the dawn of the twentieth century the whites were the most numerous

branch of the family of man, and held a position of undisputed supremacy. The first blow to that supremacy was given in 1904, when Japan beat Russia to her knees.

That was one of the most significant facts in world-history for four centuries. It not only heralded the amazing rise of Japan to the front rank of the Great Powers ; it also set the nerves of the whole non-white world tingling with excitement. In remote villages of North India, while they sat in their circles and passed round the *hugga* at night, in native compounds on the Rand, in negro training institutions of North America, the popular topic of wondering conversation was the victory of Japan. Since then a slow but complete revolution has been working in the mind of the coloured world, perhaps primarily and most obviously in Asia, but no less assuredly among negroes. If there had been any idea of revolt against white world-supremacy before that time in the minds of coloured men, it was subconscious or half-unconscious. But after that date those ideas were clarified and articulated. A new vista opened before coloured eyes, and the fetish of white invincibility lay, like Dagon, a shattered idol in the dust.

The Great War completed the revolution. The white world was seen engaged in the most unscrupulous and devilish war in history, commandeering all the resources of science and civilization for a great fratricidal struggle. The non-white nations were not mere spectators. They found themselves equipped and encouraged to destroy the white man, being brought in hundreds of thousands into the war-area for that purpose. Such dragon's-teeth cannot fail to bear a sinister harvest.

There is the sound of an ugly and ominous racialism in the world to-day. Pan-Turanianism flared up for a time in the war-years, with its project of a great Turanian Empire in West Central Asia. There was talk of a Pan-Slavonic Republic stretching from the Aegean to the Pacific. The Arabs dreamt of a Pan-Arabian Empire from Persia to the

Barbary States. Greatest and most significant of all is the Pan-African movement, which is linking up the negroes of three continents and revealing unexpected potentialities. The negro race is emerging into self-consciousness. It is largely this fact that makes it certain that the problem of the twentieth century will be the problem of race.

Probably negro race consciousness is emerging in America more rapidly than elsewhere. At any rate, it has become clearly articulate. The association of negroes with whites has brought them into touch with the ideas and movements of the white world. Self-determination, government by consent of the governed, freedom of expression, and such-like phrases are being heard to-day on negro lips. The United States recruited nearly a quarter of a million negroes for the war, and two hundred thousand actually fought in France, a thousand of them becoming commissioned officers. Treated with equality and consideration in the war zone, these men found that on the western side of the Statue of Liberty the old policy of rigid segregation was still in force.

America had learnt nothing on the race-question from the war. On the contrary, there has been a distinctly reactionary tendency. The notorious Ku Klux Klan, driven underground in 1870, has become active again. There were thirty-six known lynchings in the United States between January and August of last year, and who can tell how many unknown? The attendant circumstances of these brutalities are too horrible and obscene to relate, and their barbarity shows no tendency to decrease. There have been race-riots in Chicago and negro burnings in Oklahoma. Though slavery is abolished, peonage persists in Georgia and elsewhere; while Jim-Crowism and race discrimination are as rife as ever. Is it surprising that the ten million negroes in the States are seeking by every means to secure emancipation? They are advancing along three main lines—violence, constitutional action, and the discipline of work.

The largest school of negro advancement in America is still that of Booker Washington. That supremely great man—the most distinguished Southerner since Jefferson Davis—set forth a constructive and practical programme of amelioration. Born a slave, inured to slights and insults, he refused to allow these things to embitter him or to divert him from his path. He aimed at so raising his race by worthy work that the whites would not be able to withhold equal treatment, and would one day gladly give it. He held that the end of education was the making of men, not money. It must lift the least, the lowliest, and the lost. Accordingly at Tuskegee Training and Industrial Institute, which he founded, when a negro has learnt to make a good wagon he is not retained to do that for the financial advantage of the institute or himself. He is sent out to help others, and the institute proceeds to train another raw negro to make wagons. Educationalists in Africa, India, and the South Seas are turning their attention to this remarkable experiment, and are becoming convinced that along the lines of Hampton and Tuskegee the social and educational problems of their own countries will be solved.

This school of thought aims at promoting co-operation between white and black. It recognizes the failings of the negro character and suppresses resentment at insults and injustice. There is no rancour in its propaganda, no cry for reprisals, no harbouring of long-headed revenge. This policy has won the support, not only of the whites in the U.S.A., but also of the blacks. Tuskegee relates education to the needs of the people and keeps the class-room in close touch with the workshop and the field. It develops character by craftsmanship, and does not divorce negroes by their education from their own folk. Booker Washington was far-seeing enough to realize that if moral and material progress do not advance together there will be strain, rupture, and finally disaster.

It must be admitted that this educational programme is

narrow, and overlooks certain elements of true manhood. The negro, being a man, is entitled to a full life and a full education. The industrial school will make the negro a good mechanic or manual worker, but it does not necessarily put before him life's higher ends and the pursuit of culture for its own sake. It will doubtless enable the negro to earn bigger wages, but life is more than meat, and education than technical instruction. After half a century Tuskegee, with all its influence, can scarcely be said to have made any important contribution towards the removal of negro disabilities or the solution of the colour problem. The present leaders of the Booker Washington school of thought, Moton and Aggrey, hold that the negro must show himself worthy before he will gain the freedom and equality he claims. They trust mankind, both black and white, and work for co-operation; their motto is, 'Love and work.' If politically they are not very effective, this school is morally very important, and commands general confidence.

Though race consciousness can scarcely be said to be obvious here, this is a sure road to its development and articulation. Men trained in these great negro institutes are to-day editors of negro newspapers, presidents of negro banks, professors at negro universities, heads of negro farms and business houses, and ministers to negro congregations. It is clear that this is no small contribution to the development of negro race consciousness.

At the other extreme is the movement headed by Marcus Garvey, a W.I. negro who has climbed to prominence by the ladder of negro journalism. A conference of negroes in 1920 brought this movement into public notice. Its leader is hardly more than a demagogue, with inflated ambitions and a swaggering attitude, but he has behind him an organization with a rapidly growing membership, numbering already well over two millions. He is a thick-set, self-confident, masterful man, who dreams of an 'All-Black Africa,' and at important functions wears the Presidential robes of the

Negro Republic of all Africa. He talks of repatriating all negroes and claiming Africa for the Africans. 'If the English claim England,' he says, 'the French France, and the Italians Italy as their national habitat, then the negroes claim Africa, and will shed their blood for their claim.' Accordingly he has the nucleus of a 'Black Star Line' of steamships, and even talks of an All-Black Fleet. He preached non-co-operation with the whites long before Gandhi popularized the phrase in India. He is just the loud-voiced herald of race-war, and boldly proclaims that the negro will secure his rights only by fighting for them. 'War is the only way by which men can obtain salvation. If that is the only way by which negroes can obtain their rights, they will be ready,' he cries. He looks eagerly for the day when the whites and yellows will destroy one another in a great race-war, and in that day a negro empire will be set up in Africa, and all the whites will be swept into the sea. 'The bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and that will be the negroes' opportunity to draw the sword for Africa.'

This movement gathers impetus from the fact that the negroes have been free for half a century and more, and yet have not found their promised land. They live embittered by a deep disappointment, and because they cannot understand the reasons for their failure to achieve their disappointment is the more deep. Their hopes were so high, their achievements have been so little. They feel that they have been robbed of the fruits of victory. The old joyousness and careless good nature of the slave plantations have disappeared, and in their place are sullenness and suspicion. They are nearly all in debt—many of them hopelessly so—and part of the debt is due to trickery. In consequence fierce anger and vindictiveness are glowing beneath the surface, every now and again to break forth in blazing hate, and there follows the horror of a lynching. They feel themselves to be a mocked, mobbed, and murdered people.

Such men crowd to Marcus Garvey's standard, and in his swaggering schemes they seem to see their salvation.

It is precisely the rapid growth of such propaganda as this that accounts for the bitterness of feeling which marks the white man towards the black. The negro in the Southern States is rapidly increasing in numbers, in wealth, and in assertion. The intensity of racial feeling is such that crime is often charged against an innocent negro and punishment inflicted. The result is that public opinion is destroyed, and a guilty negro who is lynched is viewed almost as a martyr. In such a cauldron of passion mutual understanding is impossible, and there are growing up two worlds without any sympathetic intercourse. They live and learn apart, they travel and worship separately, they read and think along different lines. Those close human links which make life happy and tolerable are neither existent nor possible.

It is as foolish as it is easy to dismiss with impatient gesture this man and the movement he represents. It hardly needs demonstration that he is not morally great and therefore not, in the long run, politically important. Although negroes in all parts of the world send a moiety of their hard-earned income to Garvey's movement, and look with wistful eyes for the day of emancipation to be gained for them by this passionate mouthpiece of their grievances, yet it is more than doubtful if negroes would ever follow such leading far. The movement is numerically large, but not morally significant. Its importance here is that it reveals the extent to which race consciousness has developed among large sections in Afro-America.

Midway between these two movements stands that led by Burghardt Du Bois, the object of which is political enfranchisement. The slow headway made by the Booker Washington School in the removal of negro grievances drove Du Bois into passionate revolt. He stands for revolution, but revolution by constitutional means. He has no use for war or violence. The Great War has, he

says, shown the colossal futility of such methods. This movement has a constructive programme, but it moves on different lines from those pursued at Tuskegee. Its methods and aims are political. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, which is a brilliant introduction to the idea of racial thought and development, Du Bois has sketched the spiritual agony and strife necessarily attendant upon the birth of race consciousness. In opposition to Booker Washington, he claims that the negro must have justice, freedom, and equality now, else he will lack the necessary incentive to self-development. He demands these, and affirms that if they are withheld there will be bitter struggle and racial conflict, for the negroes are realizing that they are not necessarily and permanently inferior. They resent such facts as that in some of the Gulf States a negro may not leave the plantation on which he was born, or that in Baker County, Georgia, a black stranger may be stopped, and made to state his business, and if his answer be not satisfactory he may be arrested or removed ; or that he pays taxes, yet has no effective political representation ; or that in the main the negro fails to obtain justice in the courts ; or that he pays for the upkeep of public parks, libraries, &c., which he may not enter. In a word, the negro is treated as something less than a man, and the movement led by Du Bois is concerned to win for the black man something more than industrial training and the chance to earn good wages ; it is concerned with deeper issues—with the souls of black folk, their freedom, their culture, their right to a full human life.

Du Bois' books and *The Crisis*, which is the organ of this movement, reveal an abyss of passionate racial feeling. But the passion is not blind ; it is harnessed and under control. The members of this movement point to negro achievements which have been gained in the face of opposition and claim that this is but an earnest of the contribution which negroes will make when segregation and race discrimination are

removed. They demand a vote and a place in the sun for all negroes on equal terms with white men. Here is race consciousness fully alive and active. Negro unrest in America, arising from many causes as wide apart as the commercial prosperity of some negroes and the hopeless bankruptcy of others, frequent lynchings of some and the amazing intellectual achievements of others, is steadily aiding the development of negro race consciousness. Each of the great movements mentioned shows that Afro-America is in travail. A race is being born.

Negro enlightenment has not developed so far in Africa as in America, nor is there so much co-operative negro enterprise. There is unrest in abundance, but organized race movements are few. For this there are several reasons. It is in part due to a dearth of leaders. Africa has not yet to any extent produced negro leaders of calibre and ability. It is in part due to the continued hold of tribalism ; tribal jealousies still exist, and race consciousness can gain little expression under such circumstances. It is also due to the fact that racialism is as yet largely confined to urban populations. In the great Native Reserves, in the scattered villages of the Bantu peoples, there is heard little or no talk of race questions. Race movements in Africa are largely among the civilized and comparatively educated negroes. The vast bulk of the native population is not yet mentally competent to grasp the meaning of such questions. This distinction between the more and the less civilized natives must always be borne in mind. But the fact that race movements are at present largely confined to the former in no way invalidates our thesis that negro race consciousness is finding expression ; it merely means that education and culture have made possible the articulation of sentiments deeply and widely felt.

The result is that, though there is a growing race consciousness it is not yet expressed in suitable organizations. In Africa native life is still largely tribal. The unit is not the

individual ; indeed, the individual scarcely exists save in the tribal life. The tribe owns the land, dictates customs, and organizes religion and morality. In the *milieu* of this highly developed tribal organization individual consciousness has scarcely strength enough to be born. When, therefore, the tribal life is disintegrated, as by the solvent of European civilization, the individual is like a ship without a rudder. The former tribal sanctions no longer support him, and he becomes the sport of circumstance, easily misled or exploited. In every part of Africa this process may be seen at work. But side by side with the dissolution of the tribal life there is going on the growth of a racial consciousness. The causes of the one are largely the causes of the other.

In West Africa, which from the standpoint of native development is perhaps the most progressive part of the continent, there has been considerable advance of late years. Numbers of West Africans may be seen at every one of our universities, where the majority show themselves to be possessed of at least average ability, and some gain coveted honours. The West Africans are making astonishing strides in personal development. A man whose father lived in a mud-and-wattle hut is at the Inns of Court reading for the Bar, or at Oxford studying sociology, or controlling a growing commercial enterprise in Lagos.

The commercial and intellectual development of West Africa is having its inevitable effect on the development and expression of racial feeling. It was in October, 1920, that a West African delegation came to London from the Native National Congress of West Africa, which held its first session at Accra. The purpose of the delegation was to request for the native a larger share in the administration and direction of native affairs. On more than one occasion the natives have resisted attempts to deprive them of their lands, and have resisted successfully.

In South Africa the situation rather resembles a rumbling volcano. Anything might happen at any moment. The

Director of Native Labour in South Africa, Col. Pritchard, wrote lately in relation to the low-grade mine and the conditions of native labour: 'Unless appropriate remedial measures are taken, it is my belief that the time is not far off when even a standing army would be unable to keep at work the mass of workers.' Sinister forces are acting in the black world. Secret societies are not uncommon in South and Central Africa. Ethiopianism, a movement in the Churches, is being made to subserve racial interests. Careful observers are agreed that native grievances are largely accountable for the growth of race-passion in South Africa. Professor Jabavu, of Fort Hare, for instance, points to such things as the Pass Laws against natives both in the Transvaal and in the Free State, the inability of the native to sit in Parliament, the exclusion of the Bantu from any place in the structure of European society, the unsatisfactory conditions of land tenure, the Trade Union discrimination, the pinch of present economic conditions, the quite inadequate wages, the fatal attractiveness of the towns, with their new excitements and vices, the unspeakably bad native housing accommodation, the carrying through of legislation affecting natives without reference to or regard for native opinion, and the inadequate facilities for education. The native is puzzled by these things, and in a mood to be angry. He is discussing them in his clubs and societies. He is growingly convinced that there is injustice. His faith in the white man is being rudely shaken. Passive resistance on the Rand, a students' riot at Lovedale Training Institution, a native strike at Port Elizabeth ending in wild shooting, a religious-cum-racial frenzy at Bulhoek, shows how sinister the possibilities are. The general meeting of the South African Native National Congress at Bloemfontein in 1921 expressed its alarm lest the King's veto on laws passed by the Union Parliament should be removed by the London Conference of British Prime Ministers. They accordingly claimed direct Bantu representation at the Conference in 1922.

Such a demand is a striking witness to something like racial solidarity. It would have been impossible a few years ago. There are seven times as many Bantus as there are whites south of the Zambezi. But in the past the whites were unalarmed by such figures, because the blacks were divided. Tribal jealousies made anything like racial action impossible, and to a certain extent they do so still. But the impact of European civilization is shattering the sway of tribalism, and to that extent aiding the development of racialism and negro solidarity. To-day the blacks, at least in the towns, are beginning to combine. They have formed the Industrial Commercial Workers' Union (Black) of South Africa. They are corporately demanding and gaining a measure of political recognition. The Native Affairs Act, 1920, is a great and hopeful enactment, giving opportunity for deliberative assemblies, where there can be some kind of 'palaver.' There are many such evidences, industrial, social, and political, of the development of race consciousness in South Africa.

In Central and East Africa the most disturbing factors are the land question, forced labour, and the presence of Indians. These are stimulating the nascent race consciousness, and, aided by other elements in the situation, are finding expression in the formation of such organizations as the Young Baganda Association, and the sending of a delegation from East Africa to London to lay their grievances before the Government.

The introduction of the usages and institution of European life into the African social system has resulted in a dislocation of the latter which threatens to overthrow the system altogether and to produce a state of social anarchy. Dire evidence of the resultant chaos is to be found in the breakdown of parental authority, and the advent of a life of licence, mistakenly thought to mean the rightful exercise of the prerogatives of individual liberty. Social institutions are the outgrowth of a people's life, and, being rooted in

racial characteristics, cannot readily be transported from one race to another of different type and culture. The attempt to do so generally results in a state of social anarchy and moral deterioration, with its concomitant physical impairment.

All Africa is in ferment to-day. In some places the process of fermentation is slow ; in others it is more rapid ; but, slow or rapid, the leaven is everywhere present. At the Pan-African Congress, 1921, every part of the continent was represented, from Senegal to Zanzibar, from Morocco to the Cape. The African is aware that he has a place to fill in the world. He has become conscious of himself and his race. This rapid development of racial consciousness is in no small measure due to the prevailing unrest, and cannot be adequately understood apart from a study of some of the ferments agitating the life of the whole continent.

A chief cause of unrest in Africa is connected with the land. With a little pardonable exaggeration it may be said 'The native question is the land question.' The African feels that he has been deeply wronged, and certainly the broad truth is that outside the Reserves hardly a native south of the Zambezi owns the land he lives on. He is just a tenant on the soil which from time immemorial belonged to his ancestors. No one can hope to understand the situation in Africa who does not realize that all the land is owned, according to African custom, not by the individual, but by the community. For untold ages the tenure has been tribal. Save in the case of one or two noteworthy experiments, land has nowhere been held in possession by the individual. Indeed, the native does not desire this ; he asks only for security of tenure. The land is communally owned, and each individual who discharges his tribal duty is entitled to such land as may be necessary for his needs. Under no circumstances could he or his family obtain a vested right. Such a thing would have seemed as incongruous as the owning of the air or the sunshine ; the tribe rested

absolutely secure in its tenure of the land, save only in the case of conquest in war. The white man's individualism has undermined all the tribal notions of the negro, and in the latter's bewilderment he has allowed the land to pass from his possession—often it has been taken—until to-day the African is for the most part a landless man, living on soil that belonged to his fathers. The European régime has failed to provide that security of land-tenure which the native had under the tribal system. Certain areas, known as Native Reserves, are said to belong to the African, but there is nothing to prevent the natives from being expropriated, and there are not wanting those who openly advocate the curtailment of the Reserves.

Another ferment is connected with labour. In South Africa there is increasing resentment of the various forms of race discrimination. All clerical work, craftsmanship, and skilled work is claimed as the prerogative of the white man. The heavy and menial toil is deemed the duty of the black man. There is total exclusion of black and coloured men, however skilled or efficient, from the Trade Unions; there is a resultant discrimination in the wages paid. Whatever is hard or rough or dangerous or degrading in the necessary work of the community is 'niggers' work.' Although the black man is inherently polite and instinctively gives way to the white, he is beginning to feel, and even to resent, the contempt implied in this differentiation. He is often discriminated against in the churches, not being welcomed at a 'white' place of worship. He is under disabilities politically, for while, in the former Dutch Republics, every white man *qua* white has a political standing, every black man *qua* black has none. He is treated differentially in the matter of taxation. Of 217 towns reporting to the Secretary for Native Affairs for the year 1916 to 1917 no less than 191 derived more from native revenue than they expended on native services. Sixty-four towns receiving anything up to £1,000 from natives

spent nothing at all on native services.¹ Such a policy of race discrimination can have but one result. No man should be discriminated against because of something over which he has no control, such as colour or race, but only because of things which it is within his power to alter, such as dirt or ignorance. The situation is made the more acute by the fact that the black man is losing respect for the white. He has seen him stripped of his dignity during the war; he has seen him engaged in internecine strife; worst of all, he has begun, as General Smuts has said, to lose faith in the white man, and absence of confidence is not far removed from the presence of suspicion and mistrust. It is always and everywhere a fruitful source of unrest.

An important factor that must not be lost sight of is the black man's increasing consciousness of his ability. He is rapidly realizing that he can do more than hew wood and draw water. In the Transkei the natives occupy the territory to greater advantage, and raise more from the land than would be possible if it were occupied by Europeans,² while Sir Godfrey Lagden, in his important work on the Basuto, has said, referring to the same territory, 'No white population would produce as much in the space available.' Under their own native law and tribal customs, and without the advantage of modern appliances, the Basutos have made quite astonishing progress. They are industrious, law-abiding, and commercially capable.

The business initiative and capacity of the negro is clearly demonstrated in West Africa. In 1900 the cocoa output of the Gold Coast was 1,000 tons; in 1919 it was 177,000, worth £8,000,000. In 1900 the trade of Nigeria totalled in value a little more than two and a quarter millions; in 1919 it reached an aggregate of twenty-five millions. In Sierra Leone the increase has been from less than one

¹ Dr. C. T. Loram, in an address to the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, July, 1921.

² Evans, *White and Black in South-East Africa*, p. 147.

million to three millions in the same period. All this trade is in the hands of the natives of West Africa, and demonstrates alike their industry and their ability.

The black man has not yet displayed any great political ability. Probably he is too much under the sway of tribal notions. The political experiments in Liberia and Hayti are not very reassuring, though a close investigation of the facts seems to reveal that in Hayti, at any rate, it was not in line with the desires of certain white peoples that the negro régime should be a conspicuous success. Apart from such disputable evidence, it can hardly be denied that the negro is at present too ready to talk and too little prepared for the arduous task of thought and action in the political sphere. The spell of the tribal palaver is still upon him. It was just here that Booker Washington rendered such conspicuous service to his fellows. In place of talk and palaver he put work and discipline. But it must not from this be supposed that the black man knows nothing of political theory. That notion would soon be dispelled by glancing through the pages of such a negro journal as *The Crisis*, by talking with any West African student at an English university, or by listening to a discussion in one of the many native clubs in Johannesburg. There is increasing familiarity with the theory of British Government, with syndicalism, and with constitutional democracy. These are all adding ferments to the prevailing unrest.

Perhaps the most fruitful source of unrest is to be found in culture-contact. While individualism permeates the whole culture of the white man, it has hardly come above the threshold of consciousness for the negro. The tribe is for him consciously and subconsciously dominant. The chief, as the representative of the tribe, has claims upon him that he cannot resist. He has, and can have, no rights against the tribe. He owns no land in perpetuity. It all belongs to the tribe, and during his lifetime he lives on as much as is necessary for him and his family. Even his

debts are not solely his own, and death is no discharge. They may be recovered from the clan. The hold of the community life is very strong, and every possible care is taken to obviate any disintegration of tribalism. This checks ambition and initiative; it represses the individual, and may even make for stagnation. But it promotes social stability, and conserves values that have been found precious through long centuries, such as tribal loyalty, the sense of communal responsibility, and the honouring of the accepted moral code.

But tribalism is doomed. The negro is changing. European individualism has a disintegrating effect which seems irresistible. Chiefs and headmen are increasingly complaining of the independent spirit of the young men and their refusal to respond to the tribal demands. As yet the whole is not leavened; but the ferment is present, and they are working. The old tribal system is slowly breaking down, and the communal sanctions are being undermined. The very presence of the white man and the impact of his culture are inevitably disintegrating tribal solidarity.

The effect of this upon the African negro is at first bewildering, and for the time being he is not a pleasant person. His quiet dignity is often exchanged for a self-conscious swagger, and his courtesy for self-assertion. The removal of the old sanctions has frequently made him unrestrained and impudent. There is evidence of widespread deterioration of character. The contact of races of different cultures tends to a lowering of morals, not always ephemeral. The kaleidoscopic life of the towns causes a complete reversal of the old tribal notions. Some men return to their kraals full of the new ideas; others get sucked into the vortex of the new life, and often become parasites on white society. Many wholesome restraints have in this way been relaxed, and liberty has been assumed by those not yet in all cases fitted to exercise it. The result has been widespread bewilderment and unrest, the formation of secret societies,

the advocacy of an All-Black Africa and the spread of religious and political Ethiopianism.

The grip of the tribal life held negro society together. With the white man came the solvent of Western individualism, which slowly but effectually disintegrated tribalism. Whatever unpleasant accompaniments go along with this process, it is a necessary preparation for the birth of race consciousness. So long as tribalism lived larger loyalties were unable to emerge. To-day the natives are beginning to think of themselves, not as Fantees or Bechuana or Baganda, but as Africans. They are becoming racially conscious.

The grievances of the Zulus at the time of the revolt in 1906 were not a big enough reason for the rising of the black world. Nor are lynchings in the Southern States of the Union. Nor are Pass Laws in Johannesburg and forced labour in Kenya. A great rallying cry of a unitary, not a sectional character, is needed. Black men will not die for the good of the Zulus or the Baganda, but who shall say that they will hesitate when what is at stake is the advantage of the whole negro race?

In America there are movements that are unmistakably racial. They vary greatly in temper and method, but they are steadily making headway in one indubitable direction. In Africa there is unrest everywhere which, for the most part, is not as yet consciously racial, but among the more educated and progressive people there is no doubt as to the goal. This prevalent and Protean unrest has been increasingly running into the moulds of racism. Due to many causes, ranging from segregation laws to higher education, the negro is beginning to perceive in himself the arousal of a new and mighty thing. Many factors seem to be conspiring to force upon him the realization that he is not a hanger-on to white civilization, but a member of a people with a destiny. The negroes are achieving race consciousness. A new race is being born.

A. M. CHIRGWIN.

JAMES, VISCOUNT BRYCE¹

NEITHER Kaiser, Sultan, nor the whole Western world's indifference to its solemnly plighted oath has yet effected the extinction of the Armenian people. While that process is incomplete, the name and memory of that much-wronged nation's chief champion will be charged with associations of popular interest, and will live in the admiring recollection of the entire Anglo-Saxon and Near-Eastern world. His school or college days and the public course for which they were a preparation include a term of rather more than three-score years. Throughout this period each successive stage fulfilled the varied promise of preceding years. Each fresh development of activity secured him a wider distinction. The circle of his acquaintance or fame thus grew, till, as at home so in Europe, throughout nether Asia and across the Atlantic, it included not only all that was most distinguished, but nearly all that was most intelligent in two hemispheres. No minute retrospect is necessary of the successive stages by which Lord Bryce reached the threshold of the European distinction whose achievement was first visibly assured him, within a year of taking his degree, when he won (1863) the Arnold Prize with the essay that became, as it remains, a text-book, almost as soon as it had been recited in the Sheldonian. The first stage in his English progress from Glasgow High School was, of course, a scholarship at Oxford, but not the Snell exhibition, which had made Balliol for so many generations the nursing-mother and training-ground of youths from beyond the Tweed, qualified and destined from small

¹ *The Holy Roman Empire* (Macmillan, 1862); *Transcaucasia and Ararat* (Macmillan, 1877); *The American Commonwealth* (Macmillan, 1888); *Studies in Contemporary Biography* (Macmillan, 1903); *Modern Democracies* (Macmillan, 1921).

beginnings to adorn the Sparta to which they had been born ('*Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna* ').

James Bryce was one of a batch of scholars at the college next door to Balliol in an exceptionally brilliant year of the late fifties. At the scholars' table in the hall, so fondly recalled throughout his life by the most famous among Trinity Prime Ministers, Lord North, the future Lord Bryce had his place among contemporaries all destined, in different ways, to stamp their name on coming generations as well as on their own. Among these was G. G. ('Baby') Ramsay, a future Professor of Humanity at Glasgow in succession to his uncle. Less famous members of the company were two destined, each of them, to figure in the school or college records of their time. One of these, Charles Eddy, bequeathed to the college of which he afterwards became Fellow a wholesome and invigorating memory, not only of academic labour and accomplishment, but of pastoral good work performed afterwards in the living of Bramley. The remaining member of the Trinity group now recalled, the Rev. James McCall Marshall, still happily surviving as rector of Croft, Darlington, did much between 1865 and 1869 to give 'Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich' the national position first won by the famous suburban school in his day, since then abundantly maintained and improved under his successor, Dr. Welldon, an Eton-bred Senior Classic who in 1885 exchanged the Dulwich for the Harrow headmastership, and who as Dean of Durham to-day enjoys the unique distinction of repeating in a purely ecclesiastical sphere the beneficent successes achieved by him as the most accomplished and influential head master of his time.

The close of Marshall's pedagogic period in 1894 came a little after James Bryce's promotion to Cabinet office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; that position exchanged itself in 1894 for the Presidency of the Board of Trade. Meanwhile, some six years earlier, Bryce had found

time to complete and publish his great work, *The American Commonwealth*, introducing as it did a new epoch in Anglo-Saxon relations on both sides of the Atlantic. In transatlantic opinion at least the book stamped its author as the certain and ideal representative of Great Britain at Washington. The happy international influence of that great work was continued and emphasized by much of what followed from the same pen. The twentieth century had completed its second decade when there appeared something like a continuation of or supplement to that monumental treatise in *Modern Democracies*; this, perhaps the most popular as well as variously instructive among all his books, seemed to deal in less detail than some of his American admirers had hoped with the difference between the so-called popular governments of the ancient and the modern world. Each, it was true, bore the same title, but formed a very different reality. Athenian society rested upon a basis of slave labour. The franchise was confined to the educated, well-to-do class which owned the land. Nor was there any intermediate order between the rich, well-born proprietors of the soil and the servile wage-earners who cultivated it. Had time and opportunity served, Bryce's last work, *Modern Democracies*, might have contained more than it actually did on this subject. The after-dinner talk, still a pleasant memory of occasional visits to Oxford in his latest years, sometimes turned on one aspect or another of the theme treated so exhaustively in his last work. On such occasions, across the walnuts and the wine, he sometimes dropped the remark implying, as some thought, an intention of comparing or contrasting more minutely than he yet had done the democratic developments, not only of the Italian Middle Ages, but of South America, with the so-called popular constitutions of Greek and Roman days; on these fresh light had been thrown by Mr. Kenyon's edition in 1891 of the Aristotelian fragment on the polity of Athens.

The session of 1880 transformed two occupants of Oxford

Chairs into Parliament men ; one of these was James Bryce, then Professor of Civil Law ; the other had abdicated his Oxford claim to the learned title, though his connexion with the evening classes at King's College, London, may have given him a claim to the style. Few personal contrasts could be more marked than that between the newly elected members for the Tower Hamlets and Southwark respectively. James Bryce had changed surprisingly little in appearance since we first saw him as an Oxford undergraduate. The slight, lithe, and wiry figure had derived some increase of dimension from the passing years ; but the light, alert movement and the quick, comprehensive glance at all interesting him in his environment remained as much his characteristics as in the Oxford undergraduate days. The other, fifteen years Bryce's senior, J. E. Thorold Rogers, still indeed retained the intellectual vigour and satirical keenness which distinguished him as teacher and writer, showing his mastery of cutting verse when describing the two foremost of Oxford historians :

Where, from alternate tubs,
Stubbs butters Freeman, Freeman butters Stubbs.

In another context, too, as Foreign Under-Secretary (1886-1892), Bryce at one and the same time maintained the lighter Foreign Office tradition of Hookham Frere and George Canning by a remark that brought a smile to the faces of Gambetta and his colleagues at a Paris international conference in 1886. The French metropolis, some one said, still remained what the Second Empire had made it—the smart capital of Europe. 'Yes,' shyly murmured Bryce, 'the Lutetia of the ancients has become the Laetitia of the moderns.'¹

¹ Lord Bryce, however, himself, when recalling to me this jokelet, was disposed to give the credit of it to his then private secretary at the Paris meeting, the late Sir H. Austin Lee, who, he said, 'did more than any one else to educate me into my duties at the Foreign Office.'

The international plot and counterplot, the alternate surrender and grab, figuring so prominently in the diplomatic record of the nineteenth century's last quarter, had associated Bryce with the great European movements while his position—the Oxford Professorship of Civil Law—was shaping his course towards public and official life. Several stirring or significant incidents in the European evolution of the time occurred during the later seventies. Those were the years and occurrences that, closely watched by Bryce, formed an instructive and stimulating preparation for the career that was to begin with the Foreign Under-Secretaryship in 1886. Throughout the immediately preceding years, and even before entering Parliament, Bryce, from occasional tours in Central Europe, and continued intercourse with the best-instructed European observers of his time, had formed some notion of the changes likely to follow the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878. Austria, he saw, awaited the convenient season for her advance to Salonica. In 1866, till the beginning of a new decade, the German militarists were resolved upon the annexation of Bohemia, whose Czech population were bent on gratifying their hatred of all German persons and things by preventing it. The progress of this plot and counterplot combined with a curious reminiscence of his reading in earlier days to give Bryce not only the interest, but the initiative, in foreign politics which, growing continuously till he took his seat at St. Stephen's, gave colour and direction to his whole public life. While preparing or meditating his *Holy Roman Empire*, he had lighted upon the seventeenth-century work of a certain Philippe Chemnitz, written under the name of 'Hippolytus à Lapide'; German unity and the best means of securing it formed the central subject of this little volume, which was adopted as a handbook by the Frankfurt Parliament (1848–1849), and which was thought in 1866 to have inspired Bismarck with the idea of the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation. The first and least-known

Sir Robert Peel trained his famous son from infancy to become Prime Minister. From the stage in Bryce's development now reached, those who knew him best never doubted that all his private and political movements were subordinated to the great end of mastering in detail the international evolutions of the time, and increasing the official store of first-hand acquaintance with the national forces and personal influences controlling or associated with them.

Apart from his work as historian and jurist, Lord Bryce rendered the same kind of service to the Oxford Professoriate, and about the same time, as it received from those who, roughly speaking, were his contemporaries in their respective Chairs. In 1869, the year before Bryce's instalment in the Chair of Civil Law, Oxford had honoured itself, and the author of *Modern Painters*, by appointing John Ruskin to the Slade Chair of Fine Art. That, of course, was far from being the first occasion of the University choosing for one of its Chairs a teacher whose influence and fame were already world-wide. Provost Magrath's encyclopaedic contribution to his college annals also records the development and organization of teaching power and methods on the Isis. The ties uniting our great historic seats of learning with the progressive training and refinement of the nation's mind are composed of many strands. Of these none is more venerable, potent, or uniformly visible in its operation than the link uniting the development of the national intellect with the educational agencies to that end first provided in the twilight of learning, periodically supplemented since then by the munificence of pious and enlightened founders, for keeping Oxford and Cambridge abreast of the world's highest thought and best culture in the ages that have followed. Among Oxford teachers of the humanities within living or modern memory, none is mentioned by Provost Magrath as a member of his own college. In the early eighteenth century, however, a Fellow of Queen's, if he was not the rose, lived near to it. The first holder of the Poetry Chair was a Fellow of Wadham

named Trapp (1708-1718). Queen's, however, supplied him with a deputy or assistant in the pleasant and remarkably shrewd versifier of the time, Thomas Tickell, who turned his metrical gift to better account for himself than was done by any other singer of his time. Eighteenth-century professorships on the Isis, if one may judge from that of Poetry, had a tendency to run in families. Trapp's successor was Thomas Warton the elder, of Magdalen (1718-1729); rather less than a generation afterwards (1756) a second Thomas Warton, son of the first, became the official representative of the muse for the University. That academic son of song had not actually succeeded to Apollo's chair when he received Samuel Johnson and James Boswell beneath his roof on their Oxford visit early in the long vacation of 1754. However pleasant the reminiscence of that visit and host, it did not prevent the sage from uttering some facetious criticisms on Warton's verses. Speaking about 'a gentleman of eminence'—in point of fact the younger Warton himself—Johnson said he had got into a bad style of poetry, 'putting a very common thing in a strange dress, till he does not know it himself, and thinks other people do not know it either.' 'That,' was the Boswellian rejoinder, 'is owing to his conversance with old English poetry.' 'Sir,' the comment growled itself out, 'what is that to the purpose? If I say that a man is drunk, the matter is not mended by your saying he has taken too much. No, sir, Warton has taken to an odd mode'—an offence which the critic illustrated by a little improvised parody :

Thus I spoke ; and speaking sighed ;
Scarce repressed the starting tear ;
When the smiling sage replied,
'Come, my lad, and drink some beer.'

Among the preceding stanzas then improvised by Johnson was one which Boswell thought very good solemn poetry :

Hermit hoar, in solemn cell,
Wearing out life's evening grey :
Smite thy bosom, sage, and tell,
What is bliss ? and which the way ?

The poetic gift is generally an earlier development with the individual than that of prose. So it proved with the University in the collective aspect of its literary growth. Magdalen, however, had developed an historical school of its own before anything was known of the poetic growths about whose bloom something has been now said. Towards the sixteenth century's close Magdalen produced a little historical group of which the best known are John Florio, an Italian Protestant refugee, and John Llyl, the Euphuist, who, if not an original contributor to Elizabethan prose, can hardly have escaped the taste of his time for rendering Latin and Greek writers into more or less musical English prose. Magdalen also produced the most variously informed of seventeenth-century historians in Peter Heylin, the Royalist, who, deprived of his preferments during the Commonwealth, regained them at the Restoration. His *Life of Laud* was followed by at least one history of England, showing, like some of his other works, that providence had always been on the side of the Establishment.

The Oxford-bred historians are therefore a race of some standing ; though the academic provision for teaching the subject is of much more recent date than the establishment of the Poetry Chair. The Regius Professorship of History dates from 1724. Among its early occupants none was as well known as Thomas Arnold of Rugby (1841-1842) ; among the novelties of his prelections was the prominence and picturesque analysis incidentally given by him to the person and character of Falkland as he appears in May's *History of the Great Rebellion*. That revival of an interesting, graceful, and largely forgotten personality bore fruit many years afterwards in Matthew Arnold's portrait of the same original, and in the fourth Earl of Carnarvon's tribute to his

seventeenth-century ancestor, who, like Falkland, fell at the Newbury fight. The method of teaching may have often been casual and scrappy, even after as well as before the foundation of the Oxford History Chair. In succession to Arnold of Rugby, neither Holford Vaughan nor Goldwin Smith reflected on the Chair the distinction or importance which might have been expected from their great gifts. Goldwin Smith, indeed, performed much the same service—an altogether literary one—as that rendered by Froude, less as a lecturer than as a writer. For so clever a man, Smith resented with surprising bitterness Disraeli's thumbnail sketch of him as the Professor in *Lothair*, inspired by Blenheim Palace and its surroundings with a little address, really very clever, such as 'would have made the fortune of a literary society.' The ornaments of the History Chair on the Isis now brought together were stylists before being historians, masters of the easy, limpid English foreshadowed rather than achieved by Addison in the *Spectator*, artistically mastered by Froude, illustrated with no less pure and happy effect in his sermons and lectures by Benjamin Jowett, as well as by not a few among his pupils still living to carry on the old Oxford literary tradition.

In that school of thought and expression Lord Bryce's tastes, temper, studies, as well as gifts, had secured him a permanent place long before the opening of his Parliamentary or professional period. No contrast more marked is conceivable than that between the third George's Lord North and our twentieth-century representative at Washington. They had, however, some tastes in common. Both were united by a personal affection for their own, the same Oxford college, for its chapel, with Grinling Gibbons's cedarwood carvings, and above all for its incomparable lime-walk, in whose shadow the eighteenth-century First Lord of the Treasury always fell asleep on the first seat he could find; and the historian of the Holy Roman Empire, when revisiting his old college, refreshed body as well as mind, and struck

out new ideas for his later and lighter writings on men, manners, and events. With these the present writer's acquaintance began when reading with John Nichol of Glasgow, who in the nineteenth century's second half periodically revisited Oxford, and took a few pupils in his Beaumont Street lodging. There I first met Bryce, and was privileged to hear him conversationally handle not a few of the events and personages which ensure for his *Studies in Contemporary Biography* a charm and freshness equal to their historic and permanent value.

As during his vigorous middle age, so till he finally laid it down, Bryce's happiness with his pen was frequently shown in a lighter vein than that of *The American Commonwealth*; witness some among his estimates of men and events on occasions like those when I first became known to him beneath John Nichol's roof. The historian E. A. Freeman was then a resident Fellow of Bryce's own college, Trinity, and an occasional examiner in the modern history school, as well as, chiefly from his manner, by no means a popular one. Bryce knew him better than he was known to most of his own, or indeed of any other, generation; while Bryce's professorial period in the Chair of Civil Law overlapped for some time that of Freeman in the History Chair. The two men had not only many of life's greater interests and literary ideas in common; they had constantly come across each other, if they had not actually made together the great tour of Europe. Over and above this, they belonged to the same college, had the same interests, public or private, and in their conversation used to cap politics and history as Southey and Wordsworth used to cap verses. In other respects the two Trinity historians now recalled were curiously unlike each other. The sweetness and light desiderated by Matthew Arnold for the chronicler of men and of events often mingled themselves with the irony of Froude; they sometimes underlay the ruggedness of Freeman, but alike in manner and expression, whether in club, salon, or common-

room, were by no means wanting in Bryce. The Oriel Society during its palmiest period as a gathering of great and good spirits was compared in a devotional undertone to heaven. During the fifteen years after the Oxford Movement the scholars of Trinity were famous for their fidelity to the Oriel High Anglican tradition. Freeman, however, differed from his fellow scholars to an extent and in a way described by Bryce with his demure Scotch humour ; Freeman himself passed through a Puseyite and Newmanite period, terminated, as he told Bryce, by some casual talk with an ultra-Tractarian friend who spoke of a flaw in the consecration of all sixteenth-century Swedish bishops. 'What a pity !' added the pious youth, 'for, of course, since that time the salvation of all Swedes has been imperilled.'

The elegancies of classical scholarship excited in Freeman something very like contempt. He admitted, however, that Greek had its uses, and might even be the handmaid of history 'if, as all languages should do, it began with Grimm's law of consonantal transmutation operating in all the Aryan tongues.' Robert Lowe's Macaronic verses welcoming the Royal visitors to Oxford in the middle of the nineteenth century seemed in Bryce's day still fresh, if only for their introductory line, 'Tum forte in turri consedit reading man altâ.' The academic air was long charged with 'Bob Lowe' stories. One of these, as told by Bryce, recalled Lowe's examinership of Little-go candidates. 'Well,' said a brother don, looking in during the *viva voce*, 'how are you getting on ?' 'Excellently,' came the reply ; 'five men plucked already, and the sixth very shaky.' Among Bryce's other Sherbrookiana was an incident of Irish travel. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Lowe had then become, was touring in Ireland with his Cabinet colleague, an old Wykehamist friend, Roundell Palmer, Lord Selborne. A car-driver's over-charge provoked an altercation that soon became noisy, if not serious. 'Lowe,' said Bryce, 'quite gloried in the

sign and sound of battle, while Palmer really looked as if he wished the earth might swallow him up.'

Versatility, within certain limits, was as much Lord Bryce's characteristic as thoroughness of learning. The lightness of touch whose display often accompanied those gifts was never wanting to his conversation or writing under conditions that he considered suitable. Apropos of the pressure as regards time and space incidental to newspaper work, 'I have,' he once said, 'always avoided it, because I cannot easily turn round on a sixpence.' His casual talk with friends fit and few often contained the germ of those ideas afterwards elaborated in his biographical studies. These, if they had at first seen the light in a newspaper, would have been very good journalism. Bryce, however, was no journalist, and considered himself quite unfitted for the work. In March, 1868, Robert Lowe meditated withdrawal from leader-writing for *The Times*. Twelve years later, the first year, if not the first day, of his transformation into Lord Sherbrooke, brought his resignation to Delane, who at once concerned himself to find his successor. T. C. Brodrick of Merton, and occasionally employed in Printing House Square, was commissioned to secure Bryce for the vacant post. Some years previously to this incident, at an Athenaeum dinner, where Bryce was of the party, Disraeli told Matthew Arnold that he had reluctantly given up all thoughts of serious newspaper writing for politics, because, as he said, 'I could never do two things at once.' Bryce sweetened or at least spiced with this anecdote the refusing of the Blackfriars offer, and the subject was never reopened. The place filled by Lord Bryce in the illustrious list of nineteenth-century scholars, jurists, Parliament men, and diplomatists has now been defined and illustrated with some detail. His entire course, and the distinctions marking each successive stage, are a reminder that the great gifts and achievements whose titular acknowledgement was the Viscountcy conferred in 1914 were in some aspects as hereditary

as the Chamber itself, deprived by his death of one among its wisest, most experienced and accomplished members.

The fine Bryce brains went with another gift equally indispensable to Lord Bryce's many-sided success. His sheer brain-power was reinforced and, as it often seemed, placed beyond the power of fatigue by a slight but adamantine frame with whipcord nerves, sinews, and muscles ; limbs and joints of an agility and endurance at four-score odd equal to that perfection of physical state and strength which, not much less than half a century earlier, had brought him alone of his party in tolerable freshness to the peak of Ararat, after an ascent that had exhausted not only his companions, but his guides themselves. Well, therefore, might Bryce's friends, as on this occasion so on many others, apply to him Livy's description of Hannibal's indifference to physical fatigue of any kind, as well as to the most sudden and severe alternations of heat and cold. It did not fall within the present writer's experience himself to witness any such feats of physical endurance ; they were, however, personally known to my good friend, Mr. Moreton Frewen, especially upon one occasion, when he was Lord Bryce's fellow guest at Government House, Ottawa. Cheerfully rubbing his hands, with something between a shiver and a smile, the host, the fourth Earl Grey, as he took his seat at the head of the breakfast-table, remarked, 'Forty degrees below zero.' 'Forty below zero !' exclaimed Bryce. 'I never heard of such a thing !' He had scarcely repeated the words when he hurried out of the room, and opened the front door as if to verify the temperature. Eager, as they said, to prevent Bryce from the risk of pneumonia, the host, with his other guest, hurried after. Bryce, quite undisturbed, and having, it might seem, read up the subject, remarked there was no danger, 'because the human body was wrapped by nature in an envelope of warmth sufficient to protect it for six minutes !'

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

Notes and Discussions

THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM

FIFTEEN hundred years ago St. Augustine wrote his epoch-marking treatise on the City of God. Three years ago Mr. Clutton Brock published a thoughtful booklet entitled *What is the Kingdom of Heaven?* Utterly diverse as are these two works in size, scope, method, and conclusions, the juxtaposition of the great Latin Father of the Church and the modern acute critic of Churchianity draws attention to the fact that the doctrine of the kingdom of God is vital to the existence and work of Christianity in the world. Augustine wrote when the civilization of the ancient world was breaking up and the preparation for a new era was being made on the ruins of the Roman Empire. We live in a time when similar changes are silently taking place, and the Christian needs more than ever to know what he means by the kingdom of heaven and how and when he expects its realization to be effected. For by *Civitas Dei* Augustine did not mean the 'City,' but the world-wide Commonwealth of God, the realization in the world of the divine thought and age-long purpose for mankind—a theme which touches every department of theology and every aspect and aspiration of human life. Innumerable works have appeared on the subject; in our own generation Robertson's Bampton Lectures on *Regnum Dei* and Candlish's Cunningham Lectures on *The Kingdom of God* may stand as specimens of a copious literature.

The subject is inexhaustible, and we are sure that many will eagerly welcome the fresh contribution to its study that is furnished by Dr. Maldwyn Hughes' Fernley Lecture entitled *The Kingdom of Heaven* (Epworth Press). Those who listened to its oral delivery last July and those who since then have read it in its full and printed form have assuredly not been disappointed. Its main object has already been attained in setting a great many people thinking on its great cardinal theme. The two foci of the great curve in human history known as Christianity are: the renewal of the individual heart by the gospel of Christ and the renewal of community-life by the establishment of His Kingdom in the earth. That Kingdom is both within us and around us. It has come, but also it is still coming, and Christians await its final consummation with eager and expectant hearts. We still pray, as our Master has taught us, to our Father, 'Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' But when do we expect and how are we to prepare for the answer to this universal Christian prayer?

Dr. Hughes bids us study the Bible for the history of the idea embodied in the title of his book. He proves himself to be an admirable guide in a comprehensive, and, it must be confessed, often complicated survey. He takes his readers through the Old Testament—histories, prophecies, and psalms—showing how both in form and in substance preparation was made for the time when John the Baptist

cried, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand,' and Jesus calmly announced, 'It is here.' The writings of the Apocrypha—as we somewhat uncouthly style certain extra-canonical writings of great importance in history—are not forgotten. The very titles of certain chapters, 'The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus,' 'The Kingdom of Heaven in the Synoptic Gospels,' 'The Parousia in the Synoptic Gospels,' and 'Ethics and the Kingdom,' show the discerning reader how much he needs a competent guide among the thorny controversies which have arisen of late around these great central themes. Dr. Hughes possesses the combination of qualities necessary for such a guide. He is thoroughly acquainted with critical literature, but he does not lose his head in denouncing and hunting down critics on the one hand, or by running after the latest theorist who thinks he can improve upon the Gospels on the other. Dr. Hughes' eyes are keen and his hand is steady. He is prepared to accept new light (when it illumines), but he does not give up the old substance for the sake of proving that he is clever enough to perceive, and foolish enough to follow, a new will-o'-the-wisp dancing over the marshes. The chapters on 'The Pauline Interpretation' and 'The Johannine Interpretation' of the Kingdom are masterpieces of condensed exposition, and deserve careful study, New Testament in hand. The following all-important chapter on 'The Cross and the Kingdom'—it is an acid test of the competence of any writer on the whole subject whether he can write adequately on that theme—shows how thoroughly the author has made the doctrine of the Cross his own, and how completely he refuses to cramp and maim his view of the Kingdom by outworn and narrow expositions of the meaning of the Cross.

One deficiency, as it seems to us, may be noted in passing. The relation between the Church and the Kingdom is an integral part of the author's subject, and his brief reference to it on pp. 124-5 is all too meagre. Dr. Hughes does indeed say, 'In the loftier ranges of his thought Paul conceives of the *ecclesia* as something more than the visible communion of believers and the invisible communion of saints. . . . Hence the *ecclesia* seems to be synonymous with the Kingdom in its most spiritual ideal and comprehensive sense.' But one misses the attempt to deal with the practical questions arising from the employment side by side, through the course of history, of these two cardinal words. The reason probably is that Dr. Hughes is pursuing the method of Biblical, rather than that of historical, theology, and such discussion might have led him too far from his main theme. His treatment of the Apocalypse as 'not a detailed prediction of events, but a philosophy of history,' is excellent.

The most interesting chapter of the book to some readers will be the last, which deals with 'The Kingdom of Heaven and the Hope of Progress.' Here the expositor makes way for the philosopher and the historian, and some impatient people will be apt to say, 'Now at last we are facing realities.' Dr. Hughes is ready for them. 'What is progress?' he asks. If it is viewed as a synonym for civilization, he bids us remember that 'to civilize is to make good citizens—that is, to solve the problem of living in right relations with one another. This raises moral issues, for right relations are achieved only in so far

as the passions which separate and engender strife are mastered.' The paragraphs which follow show how timely and practical is the subject handled by the Fernley Lecturer for 1922. We wish that space were available to illustrate Dr. Hughes' grasp of his subject by extracts from his book on 'the group-spirit' (p. 178) and the kingdom of heaven as representing the immanence of God in human life (p. 179). 'Civilization breaks down, and always has broken down, because—' How is that sentence to be finished? No question can be more momentous, and none in our generation is more pressing. Dr. Hughes is surely right when he says that civilization breaks down 'because of its poverty of moral power.' We would commend for special consideration his contention that 'the translation of the kingdom of heaven into a new world-order is conditional upon a transvaluation of values,' his exposition of the teaching of Jesus on this subject, and his conclusion that 'it is reasonable to anticipate a new world-order in which the values of the Kingdom shall be dominant, without postulating perfectibility.' If Europe persists in the madness and folly of hate, the lecturer admits, 'Western civilization may go out in darkness, like other civilizations before it.' But the resources of God will not be exhausted. We may be assured that God's purpose for the world, as well as for individuals, will not fail, 'and that He who was slain from the foundation of the world will see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied.'

We have noticed quite inadequately a volume which is both an able exposition of Scripture and a noble and inspiring presentation of a great theme. Readers will do well to study it for themselves, and such of them as are ministers and teachers have to-day an unprecedented opportunity for translating its thoughts into action.

W. T. DAVISON.

MOHANCHAND KARAMCHAND GANDHI

As some missionaries have said or suggested that the Government of India condemned itself by sending Mr. Gandhi to prison, I desire to express my opinion that the Government of India was compelled by Mr. Gandhi to take that course. The Mahatma—as many call him—expected imprisonment and acknowledged that he deserved it. He was prosecuted under a section of the Indian Penal Code which reads as follows: 'Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life, or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment, which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.'

The evidence produced by the prosecution was unambiguous and based upon Mr. Gandhi's undisputed utterances and actions. The accused had described the Government as 'depraved and satanic,' and had incited the people to refuse co-operation with it. He acknowledged his responsibility for the blood shed in the riots in Bombay and for the ghastly murders at Chauri Chaura, near Gorakhpur, in the United Provinces. The Provincial Governments and the

Government of India evinced amazing patience in dealing with the man who sought their destruction. When the demonstration was complete that Mr. Gandhi's teaching had injured many and was a menace to the welfare of the people, his incarceration became inevitable. Had his call to non-co-operation evoked a general response, the Government which had given order and security would have ceased to function. Chaos and catastrophe would have ensued as surely as the night the day.

The Government of India is not angelic. It is human, and often errs. It is the best that India has ever known, and most certainly it is not satanic. And Indians themselves are becoming increasingly and substantially responsible for the Government of their own country. Every day the European decreases and the Indian comes to his own. The movement was right and inevitable. Only danger can attend any attempt to diminish or accelerate its pace.

The chief complaints as voiced by Mr. Gandhi have been the Khilafat and the Punjab tragedy. Sir Sankaran Nair assures us that 'outside Mr. Gandhi's camp the non-Mahomedan sympathy with the Khilafat movement, never strong, has vanished.' And another Indian publicist avers that 'However much a certain section of the Mahomedans may feel the disastrous termination of the European war, so far as Turkey is concerned the Indian people as a whole have no interest whatever in it.' Sir Sankaran Nair affirms that 'the acceptance of the Khilafat claim means the death-knell of the British Empire or the Indo-British commonwealth, and specifically as regards India it means a denial of Swaraj. For it involves a choice between Mahomedan rule and Hindu subjection, or Hindu rule and Mahomedan subjection.' Speaking not long ago at Sylhet, Mr. Gandhi cried, 'Swaraj is our Khilafat and Khilafat is our Swaraj.' But the horrible outrages committed by the Moplahs on Hindu men and women have cooled the ardour of most Hindus for the Khilafat.

The Punjab tragedy was a tragedy indeed. Many Indians have overlooked the awful excesses committed by their fellow countrymen. When three years ago British officials in the Punjab, by their foolishness and cruelty, disgraced themselves and their country, they supplied the extremist with excellent campaign material. What expositions of Swaraj have obtained currency?

The Ali Brothers, with whom Mr. Gandhi was on the most intimate terms, declared that the British must go that Swaraj might come. Both these men I know personally, and to me it is clear, as to most, that they heartily hate the British. The Moderates define Swaraj as self-government on the lines of the Colonial Dominions. Mr. Gandhi himself seemed unable or unwilling to offer any clear definition or description of the kingdom he sought for himself and others. And yet in one of his books he asserts in effect that Swaraj can only be obtained by a demolition of the entire structure of the state and of all the settled institutions of society. He has declared that he desired that the British and the Indians should live together in amity; but no one has done more than he to embitter relationships. The villager has understood that Swaraj meant the total remission of all taxes and more food and clothing. And he has been told that only the white man stood between him and his desire. The wicked and

wholesale burning of foreign cloth and clothes, initiated by Mr. Gandhi, accentuated racial bitterness.

A few words about Mr. Gandhi himself. He was born in the Porbander State, fifty-three years ago, and belongs to the merchant class. He was educated in Kathiwar and London. He became a barrister of the Inner Temple. In 1893 he proceeded to Natal. The Law Society objected to his pleading in the Supreme Court because he was a coloured man. The objection was overruled. He remained in the colony and championed the cause of Indians there at much loss and suffering to himself. During the South African war he assisted by recruiting Indians as stretcher-bearers and himself served at personal risk. In 1905 His Majesty the King-emperor conferred on him the Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal. On his return to India, Ahmedabad became his head quarters for the training of young men. He began to give himself to political activities. In 1916 he championed the cause of the riots of Champaran and came into direct conflict with the authorities.

Mr. Gandhi is a man of immense courage. He has served others at immeasurable cost to himself. The sacrifices he has made for the welfare of his fellow countrymen are incalculable. He has emptied himself to enrich others. His bitterest enemies can utter no word against his private life, which is self-disciplined and kindly. One of his most intimate friends assures me that 'he has always put the Bhagawad Gita in the same high position as the Sermon on the Mount.' His protests against 'the crowing course of caste' have helped in the elevation of the depressed classes. His hostility to the drink traffic has done some good which will probably be permanent, as the head-men of castes have discovered that intoxicants are not essential to happiness at fraternal gatherings.

Though there has been some suspicion, there has been no evidence of Mr. Gandhi's spiritual deterioration during the recent testing years. I am unable to agree with those who think that his unexampled popularity has turned his head. People have worshipped him, but not with his approval or consent.

Some missionaries have condemned his imprisonment because he is a saint. Sainthood is no guarantee of sanity in political affairs. He conscientiously believes that the present Government is unfit to govern and should therefore be superseded. The complete sincerity of his belief is no proof that the Government is satanic. His sainthood could not prevent outrage and murder if the present Government were overthrown. It is a tragedy that such a man should be in gaol. But even that is good if it prevents red ruin and the breaking up of laws. And I think, and many think so too, that Mr. Gandhi was glad enough to get the rest. In the United Provinces some men now regard him as an imposter—poor men who wanted food and clothing and complete exemption from all taxation. When such men curse, they use the name of Gandhi in imprecation. While he is in prison he will not have to face such music. Not that Mr. Gandhi is a coward. He may be disillusioned and glad of some retirement. I do not think that he is led merely by intuition. 'He is only driven by hard facts,' writes to me one of his closest friends. He is not vindictive, but the injustice he has received from white men in days gone by may have

entered into his soul and obscured his vision. He is 'driven by hard facts.' His indictment of British rule in India is terrible. It can be answered. And most Indians admit that on the whole that rule has been benign. Ordinary men are expected to tell the truth, and the whole truth. It seems that Mr. Gandhi cannot always see the other side. While he is in prison let us pray that he may see God in Jesus Christ. Some say that the revelation of God in Christ is only understood by the revelation of Christ in man. If Mr. Gandhi were a Christian . . .

C. PHILLIPS CAPE.

DR. DEISSMANN AMONG GERMAN METHODISTS

LAST Easter a three-days' theological conference was held at the Methodist College in Frankfurt-am-Main. The unique and epoch-making feature of the gathering was the presence of Lutheran ministers as guests, and of University professors as lecturers. Dr. Melle, the broad-minded Principal of the *Martins Missions-Anstalt*, is to be heartily congratulated on the success of his endeavour to promote friendly intercourse between the two churches. The number present at the Conference was one hundred and twenty. No more conclusive evidence could be given of the greatly improved relations between the Government and the Free Churches, and of the gradual brightening of the prospects of evangelical religion in Germany during the four post-war years.

Great interest had been aroused by the announcement that Professor Deissmann had promised to lecture on each of the three days of the Conference. But his opening words were a welcome surprise, for he began with a generous appreciation of the good work which had been done, since the war, by Methodists and Quakers, in the relief of distress. As representing the theological faculty of the University of Berlin he was authorized to say that the degree of Doctor of Theology had been conferred upon Bishop Nuelsen, *honoris causa*, 'in gratitude for his distinguished services.' The diploma was then read in Latin and in German. To all who were present this pleasing incident was a sign of the passing of pre-war prejudices and the dawning of a better day. It will be remembered that the distinguished historian of Quakerism—the late Dr. W. C. Braithwaite—received a similar honour from the same University.

Dr. Deissmann lectured on *St. Paul's Communion with Christ*. His purpose being practical, he endeavoured to avoid the complexity of some theological manuals which fail to bring their readers face to face with the real Paul. The Apostle certainly did not talk above people's heads ; at any rate there was always a little company of believers in Christ who understood him. It was his piety rather than his theology that made his personality impressive ; and the secret of his piety—the centre from which his influence radiated—was his communion with the living, ascended Christ. After a scholarly exposition of the formula 'in Christ' the lecturer proceeded to a study of the Pauline Epistles which clearly teach that the Apostle's communion with Christ began at his conversion, and from that time 'Christ lived in Paul, and Paul lived in Christ.' It is not by works of righteousness but by the

grace of God that the believer is introduced to this experience ; hence St. Paul does not treat his personal communion with Christ as a complex to be analysed, nor does he define its position in a theological system ; what he is content and glad to do is to make reverent avowal of a gracious experience by using a variety of metaphors which are, however, akin in meaning.

This figurative language would be easily understood by St. Paul's contemporaries. To them 'justification' meant acquittal by the judge as opposed to condemnation ; 'reconciliation' meant the abolishing of enmity, the restoration of fellowship after previous separation ; 'forgiveness' meant the cancelling of a debt ; 'redemption' meant the releasing of a slave, which involved payment of the ransom-price ; admission to 'sonship' meant adoption—a frequent occurrence in apostolic times. St. Paul uses these and other expressions to describe the one central experience of communion with Christ ; they are the different notes which blend in a mighty melody.

One of the most significant of the statements made by St. Paul is that in communion with Christ he had become 'a new creation.' The old man lived his life in quite different spheres : in the flesh, in sin, in Adam, in the law, in the world, &c. 'In Christ' defines the boundaries of the hallowed circle in which the new man lives, to which the powers of darkness either have no access, or are themselves transfigured, as when sorrow becomes joy. Especially noteworthy in this connexion is the Apostle's consciousness that he has communion with Christ in His sufferings. As a member of the body of Christ, he identifies his experiences with those of Christ, the living Head. Moreover, this communion with Christ, though it may be said to be mystical, is truly ethical, inasmuch as faith in Christ manifests its energy in love. Hence in pastoral work the ministers of Christ come to understand St. Paul ; the sublimity of his thoughts and the constraint of his certainties inspire them in their work as evangelists.

In the report of the proceedings of the Conference reference is made to an intellectual treat provided by Dr. Deissmann's evening lecture on *The Epistle to Philemon*, illustrated by lantern views. The geographical, historical, and general background of the epistle was delineated, and the graphic representations greatly helped towards the realization of the life of the runaway slave, whom St. Paul induced to return to his master in Colosse, bearing the remarkable letter which, in the lecturer's judgement, was written during the Apostle's imprisonment in the neighbouring city of Ephesus, and not in the more distant city of Rome. Much interest was aroused by the exhibition of a genuine papyrus fragment, containing the letter of a soldier to his sister, written during the third century A.D., in Greek difficult to decipher, the letter being about the same length as the Epistle to Philemon.

On another evening Dr. Deissmann gave a public lecture in St. Paul's Church to about fifteen hundred people. He was introduced by one of the Lutheran clergy, and his subject was *The Gospel and the Reconciliation of the Nations*. At the outset he dwelt on the close connexion, in the early days of Christianity, between reconciliation with God and reconciliation with men. Jesus, speaking to His own people, overstepped the bounds of the national religion when He

said : 'Ye are the salt of the earth ; ye are the light of the world.' St. Paul, in one of his most comprehensive summaries of the work of Christ, says that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.' It was 'in Christ' that Jew and Greek, at enmity one with another, were to be reconciled. In a world wherein with lawless cruelty one nation lorded it over another and sought its destruction, St. Paul proclaimed the pregnant truth, until then unheard, that in Christ 'there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman ; but Christ is all, and in all.' When the Apostle made this statement he desired neither to deny nor to abolish the distinctive characteristics of the various nations, but he would have them discover in Christ the possibility of a kindly unity and solidarity. 'Early Christianity was at once a religion for the individual and a religion for the world : a missionary religion uniting the nations.'

With shame, said Dr. Deissmann, we look back on the rosy dawn of Christianity ; for the Great War, in which Protestant nations rent each other, has demonstrated not that the Christian religion is bankrupt, but that the Christian Church, before the war, did not, as a whole, regard seriously and undertake zealously the new tasks which a century of world intercourse and of world-wide missions had rendered obligatory on all loyal disciples of Christ. It is a comfort to know that running parallel with national rivalries, there is to-day a growing determination to assert the solidarity of the Christian nations. It springs from the conviction that this is God's will and our Lord's command. It does not imply the weakening of patriotism, but it does mean the sharpening of the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God and His witness against all injustice, violence, and mammonism. The few Germans who now have the ear of other nations are those who are promoting movements towards reconciliation. There must be brotherly discussion of the question of the payment of indemnity ; especially must there be a campaign against the ignorance which, with its false because universal condemnation, sunders Christian nations. Above all, the evangelical churches must learn to know each other better and be more willing to learn from one another.

In the closing session of the Conference there was a frank interchange of views concerning the present religious situation in Germany. Professor Bornemann was glad that to-day in Germany all the churches are Free Churches ; that Methodism has become German¹ ; and that now the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches can scarcely be distinguished one from another. Professor Deissmann spoke of the federation of these two churches which had recently been accomplished at Wittenberg, and expressed the hope that to the federation other churches might attach themselves ; finally he rejoiced

¹ The Methodist Episcopal Conference of South Germany celebrated on the 16th of June, 1922, the 25th anniversary of the Union between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Germany. The South German Conference reported this year : 105 ministers, 15,824 members (an increase of 565), 671 local preachers and exhorters, 1,310 Sunday-school teachers (an increase of 157), 17,237 scholars (an increase of 650). Three-fourths of the scholars are children of non-members.

that Methodism was a church which had intimate relations with other lands ; having therefore this special *charisma*, Methodism was fitted to become an instrument in the reconciliation of the nations.

J. G. TASKER.

THE SCIENCE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY

BISHOP GORE is devoting the leisure gained by his retirement from active episcopal duty to a masterly 'reconstruction of belief.' His first volume on *Belief in God* was published a year ago ; the second volume on *Belief in Christ* is soon to appear. He has also written an Introduction to a volume by the Rev. J. H. Beibitz, Vicar of All Saints, Warwick, and sometime Vice-Principal of Lichfield Theological College. He introduced the writer to Mr. Murray, who has published the book (6s. net). Its title is *Belief, Faith, and Proof: An Inquiry into the Science of Natural Theology*. Dr. Gore points out in his Introduction that 'the world of men has, on the whole, shown much more confidence in believing in God than ability to convince the minority of atheists or sceptics. Paley, in 1802, proved the existence of God from the evidence of design in Nature, but he would not have removed the doubts of Hume or of Kant. Certainly the roots of belief and unbelief appear to lie deeper than logical arguments. Nevertheless, no faith can gain or keep the respect of mankind if it cannot vindicate and maintain itself in the field of free discussion.' Mr. Beibitz therefore restates the old arguments in the light of present-day knowledge, and claims for each a permanent impressiveness, and for all taken together an impressiveness which is overwhelming.

The opening chapter outlines the famous five arguments which are said to prove the existence of God. These are : (1) The general consent of mankind to the existence of God or gods—*e consensu gentium* ; (2) The cosmological proof from our conception of cause to the existence of a First Cause ; (3) The argument from design to a Designer—the teleological proof ; (4) The moral proof—the argument from conscience to a moral law-giver ; and (5) The conclusion that our idea of a perfect Being necessarily involves the existence of such a Being—the ontological proof. Natural theology reaches its conclusions by the same methods as other sciences. The vastness of the field here presents a tremendous difficulty, for no man can master all the details of even one science. We have to resort to the method of hypothesis. The test of an hypothesis is whether it gives a coherent and rational explanation of observed facts. No more brilliant example could be found than the discovery by Darwin and Wallace of the principle of natural selection. We test the hypothesis of the Being of God by the various classes of facts included under the five arguments just enumerated. Mr. Beibitz points out, however, that 'a true theology teaches that we cannot prove that God exists, and that this incapacity follows from the right idea of God as the one and sole Reality, the ground of all being and all thought. As to the vital things in science and in practical life, we have to be content with an attitude of reasonable belief. In regard to the theistic creed, other factors of our nature besides the intellect are involved. As Lotze says, 'Faith supplies the satisfying and convincing conclusion of those upward soaring trains of thought which

reason itself began, led by its own needs, but was not able to bring to a conclusion.' But faith must itself have a rational basis, and it is in its interest that the foundation should be tested, and, if it may be, secured and strengthened.

Comparative religion has shown that the desire to be in right relation to the Power which manifests itself in the universe is a universal attribute of human nature. This must be the starting-point for the restatement of the 'argument from general consent.' 'It is a "permanent underlying psychological impulse" which lies at the root of the crudest savage rites and the highest spiritual religions.' 'The old argument in its new form fulfils the critical test of a scientific theory, in that it gives an adequate, coherent, and rational explanation of all the facts, which, so far as we can see, no other hypothesis succeeds in doing.' It looks on all the religions of the world as forming, in some sense, an organic and living whole, which finds its consummation in the final revelation of God to mankind in Jesus Christ.

The cosmological argument is open to criticism, both from the philosophical and the theological standpoints, but if we regard causality as the working of the divine will, the physical universe is a sacrament of which God is the inward part, the Reality. He 'not only transcends His universe, but is active in every part of it, and "natural causes" in all their endless variety are the signs and symbols of that activity.' The theistic hypothesis now rests, not on the supposed impossibility of an 'infinite regress of causes,' but on what is involved in the conception of causality itself.

The argument from design is much discussed. Does evolution enable us to dispense with design? Mr. Beibitz thinks that it has become overwhelmingly clear that the hypothesis of evolution must be preferred to that of special creation, and he gives the evidence on which this conclusion is based. Darwin never held that natural selection was the only factor in evolution. He regarded it as 'the main but not the exclusive means of modification.' An examination of later theories leads to the conclusion that, however great the importance of natural selection as a factor in evolution, it cannot explain the evolution of organic life on our planet. 'Neither from the point of view of science nor of philosophy is it entitled to rank as an all-embracing, all-explaining hypothesis.' The evolutionary hypothesis does not overthrow the design argument, but it changes its character. We cannot now build upon particular instances of design, yet we are compelled 'to regard Nature as a process which displays throughout the working of a rational and moral principle which is most clearly manifested in and to ourselves.' Pantheism looks on the universe as itself conscious, purposive, rational. It has two fatal flaws. It is essentially the denial of personality and of freedom; and pushed to extremes it involves the entire obliteration of all intellectual, aesthetic, and moral values. Pluralism—which holds that the universe is wholly composed of a vast number of beings of every degree of intelligence and sensibility—is fashionable, and Professor James Ward boldly adopts it into theistic doctrine. The great merit of Pantheism is its insistence on divine immanence; its fault is that it so annuls distinctions as to destroy personality and all values. Pluralism lays stress on individual willing and initiative,

but so emphasizes distinctions as to do away with unity. It renders the harmony which the universe undoubtedly presents an insoluble riddle. The rejection of Pantheism and Pluralism leads to Christian theism as the true explanation of a teleological universe. That 'alone stands the supreme test of embodying in itself the truths enshrined in other systems, and at the same time avoiding the errors by which they are disfigured.'

The moral argument is based on the moral sense in man. That sense is 'not the communication to us from outside of infallible divine commands, but the stirring and awakening within us of that divine life which is our truest and highest self, for we are made in the image of God.' Remorse over failure is the sense of being untrue, disloyal to the highest which we can know, ultimately to a Person in whom it is embodied. The ontological argument now remains to be considered. In its scholastic form, associated with the name of Anselm, it ran as follows : The human mind has a concept of a perfect Being—that is, God. But a perfect Being must be an existing Being, for existence is an essential part of perfection. Hence the existence of God is a necessity of thought. The statement is too scholastic in form, but the principle which underlies it is the correspondence of thought and reality. The argument also implies that any principle found to be necessary for the validity of thought in general must be accepted as true ; and lays stress on the idea that it is rational to believe in the objective existence of the chief 'values' of human experience. 'Thus in any reasoned thinking out of the basis of theism, this argument must always hold an important place.'

The line of reasoning thus sketched out suggests as the most reasonable hypothesis the existence of a spiritual principle immanent alike in the mind of man and of the nature of which he is both part and spectator. To this spiritual principle we have seen reason to attribute will, purposive intelligence, and moral goodness. Those qualities suggest a personality to be identified with the God of religion. 'Personality is the crown of evolution, the highest form of life which we know. Hence if we are to speak or think of this divine principle at all we must do so in the terms, and under the category, of this highest form of our experience. This is the true anthropomorphism.' Such a term as personality must not, however, be taken to express the absolute truth, which is far beyond us, but to be used by way of accommodation only. The belief in the Divine Personality which we have thus reached lies at the root of religion, the essence of which is personal intercourse and union with God.

In his last chapter Mr. Beibitz discusses the existence of evil and human immortality. It is conceivable that suffering represents a condition necessary to the emergence of free spirits, capable of a rational obedience and love. We have also the conception of a God who suffers in and with His world.

JOHN TELFORD.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Redemption from this World. By A. G. Hogg, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d. net.)

READERS of Professor Hogg's previous work, *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*, will welcome the recasting of his material and farther development of his position which he has given in this volume of Cunningham Lectures. We heartily agree with him that the question of the supernatural is one which stands urgently in need of fresh and serious discussion. It is not merely that the relation between religion and science needs fresh handling, but the place of the supernatural in the Christian religion to-day, as well as the place in history of our Lord's miracles, is ill understood, even by many who occupy the position of responsible teachers. On the one hand the very idea of miracle is regarded as obsolete and beneath discussion in our day, while, on the other, views of the miraculous are put forward which alienate truly religious minds and provoke the contempt of those who have been trained to scientific habits of thinking.

So much might be said on the general question. But Professor Hogg makes a bolder challenge. He stands as one of the ablest representatives of those who believe that 'real Christianity is life upon a plane of unmeasured new possibilities, physical as well as spiritual.' He holds that the Church of to-day is not meeting the challenge of the New Testament, and that far greater triumphs await modern Christianity, whether they are to be called natural or supernatural, if only the Church understood her mission and had faith to achieve her great adventure. He believes that Christianity means and promises 'redemption from this world'; not merely from sin, or from punishment, but from 'the many-sided tyranny of an evil world-order,' and he considers that the modern tendency to minimize the place of the supernatural in Christianity implies a falling away from the true idea of redemption given in the New Testament. We sympathize thoroughly with Professor Hogg's spirit and aims, though after more than one careful reading of his book we are not able to take exactly his position, as we understand it. That he has a timely and stirring message for the Church of to-day we are sure, and have no doubt that most Christians have much to learn from him. But the chief impression left on our minds by a study of his lectures is that they form a contribution only towards a greatly needed restatement of the meaning and scope of the supernatural in religion.

It is impossible to summarize Professor Hogg's arguments. But, briefly stated, his position is that our Lord's conception of miracle is 'not as a breach of the natural order, but as the breach of a barrier *within* the natural order.' Nature, taken absolutely, is on the side of all that is good for man and in man. But within the real and ultimately true cosmic order there is an *enclave*, the limitations of which are due partly to intellectual, partly to moral conditions. And

a change of spiritual attitude, the removal of moral and spiritual unfitness, may avail to 'release into redemptive activity cosmic agencies whose principles of operation science has had no opportunity of studying, and which might occasion seemingly inexplicable departures from routine in the natural processes with which we have long been familiar.' This, in the author's view, is not merely a possibility, but a plain matter of fact, and it indicates the general character of what he considers to be 'Jesus' view of the miraculous in its aspect of a contravention of the natural order.' According to him, in the supernatural we come 'face to face with God as a transcendent, spontaneous, and personal Will,' not as a mere administrator of a system of government. In the reign of the supernatural we do not bid farewell to reason, or give up belief in a God of order, but we 'cease to place implicit confidence in the scientific understanding,' and the phenomena of spiritual experience cannot be adequately expressed in abstract formulæ resting on generalizations.

The practical issues of the author's careful inquiry into these important but difficult questions are contained in the last lecture, 'On the King's Business.' The Christian Church—if it be, indeed, all that it ought, and professes, to be—may claim greater powers than most Christians are now disposed to acknowledge. Given the single eye, the whole-hearted longing, the supreme, uncompromising devotion which Jesus Himself exhibited and enjoined—then 'all the resources of our Father's empire of reality must needs be at my call for the legitimate requirements of my errand.' The Church needs to reaffirm the supernatural, not as an abstract theory, but as a present fact. Mere 'wonder-working' is of no spiritual benefit. That which the Christian may expect to enable him to do God's work in this present evil world may not be called the power of working 'miracles,' may not imply what is loosely described as 'supernatural,' but he may and ought to expect 'special providences,' which involve what is, for our knowledge, preternatural, and we should not allow arbitrary boundaries of the border-kingdoms of nature and supernature to fetter the exercise of divine power made by our own faith. Such is a rapid and imperfect sketch of Prof. Hogg's carefully-thought-out position. In his last sentence he calls his fellow Christian to 'a fearless life of fellowship with Christ in ever fresh adventures of faith.' The bracing air which his pages breathe comes unquestionably from the everlasting hills. In this brief notice we have given only a glimpse into the scope and drift of a book which we hope our readers will procure and study for themselves.

The Holy Spirit in the Mediaeval Church. By H. Watkin-Jones, M.A. (Epworth Press. 12s. net.)

Professor Swete honoured the Rev. H. Watkin-Jones, M.A., with a request to continue his work on the development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. If he had lived to read this book he would have been the first to acknowledge the care and skill with which the task has been accomplished. The survey covers a thousand years, from the beginning of the seventh century to the beginning of the seventeenth. Each of the four parts is introduced by a Foreword which brings out its chief features and is followed by an account of the

teaching of the theologians of the period. As the work is a continuation of that of Dr. Swete it naturally follows his method. Mr. Jones is responsible for the translations, and gives full references for the guidance of students. The fifth part is a 'Summary of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Mediaeval Church' under ten divisions: the Godhead of the Spirit, His relation to the Father and the Son, the Personal Life of the Spirit, His Mission, His work in Creation, Inspiration, in the Incarnation, in the Sacraments, in Justification and Sanctification, and the Witness of the Spirit. Eleven years have been spent on the volume, and they have borne noble fruit. The clearness of the style, the careful method, and the keen but just criticism of various views, make it a pleasure to study this masterpiece. Dr. Swete would have felt it worthy to set by the side of his own work on *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*.

A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform and other Epic Fragments in the Pierpont Morgan Library. By Albert T. Clay. (Milford. 7s. 6d. net.)

This fragment of a large tablet was 'first published twenty-five years ago, before it came into the Pierpont Morgan Collection of Babylonian inscriptions, but owing to a faulty copy of the text originally presented, its importance has never been understood.' It came from Amorite sources. It states that a long famine preceded the deluge and was sent 'because men had multiplied, and also because of their clamour, reminding us of the causes given for the deluge in the Old Testament.' Mr. Clay holds that the great importance of this inscription, which was copied from an older tablet about the time of Abraham, is that it will require that the prevailing view be abandoned that the Hebrew traditions were borrowed from Babylonia. He combated this view in 1909, holding that the Hebrew traditions were indigenous in the land of the Amorites, whose culture was as high as that of Egypt or Babylonia. 'He has also consistently maintained that such familiar Biblical characters as the patriarchs and others, instead of being the creations of fiction writers, were historical personages.' The text is here given with learned notes of special interest to students of cuneiform inscriptions. The shape of the fragment in the Pierpont Morgan collection shows that the original tablet had eight columns. It was the second tablet of a series, but the content of the first tablet cannot be surmised, though it may have contained an account of the creation. Seven plates show the fragment and help a reader to understand something of the labour and skill lavished in the preparation of this important addition to the 'Yale Oriental Series' of researches.

The Hebrew Prophet and the Modern Preacher. By Henry J. Pickett. (Holborn Publishing House. 5s. net.)

This twenty-second Hartley Lecture has been written under a strong conviction that the supreme need of the twentieth century is a truly prophetic ministry, and that the man in the pulpit 'should always realize that his only right to be there rests upon an obligation he cannot evade—to be a speaker for God.' The first six chapters are

given to the Hebrew prophets, 'whose moral passion, whose insistence upon divine ideals, with their application to individual and national life, declare what is permanently essential, for all times and for all peoples.' The last six chapters show how the modern preacher should labour to make these ideals into realities and build up the City of God among men. Mr. Pickett dwells on the prophets as revealers of truth, and shows how they 'declared a definite programme of daily practice. They urged the delights of duty. . . . They set the moral pace, and became the incarnate conscience of and for the people.' From the Hebrew prophets we pass to 'The Supremacy of Jesus,' who set His divine seal to the prophetic order of conveying eternal truth. Christianity needs prophets, for it is always facing new problems, greeting new light, going out to new conquests. The preacher must be sensitive and alert in face of the dangers of his time, and must keep close to men and realities. Even where he knows his message may wound the hearers he must be faithful to his message. The preacher's equipment is dwelt on with much insight, and his relation to the Church is described as one of happy and unfailing co-operation, in sympathy, in ideal, and in service. The volume fitly closes with a chapter on 'The Preacher's Joy and Crown,' which will kindle fresh zeal in the hearts of every devoted preacher. The whole treatment is fresh and rich in practical lessons.

Aspects of Modern Unitarianism. (Lindsey Press. 3s. net.)

This statement does not claim to be a complete representation of the Unitarian faith of to-day, but the writers set out its teaching as to Man, God, Revelation, Jesus, Atonement and Salvation, Fellowship, and the Immortal Hope in a clear and persuasive way. The Rev. Alfred Hall, the editor of the volume, claims in his Introduction that Unitarianism is a 'religion of the Open Road.' He says, 'It would be impossible to-day to find any Unitarian writer who makes a distinct cleavage between God and man, or holds the exploded deistic idea that God is so transcendent to the world that little or no room is left for the immanence of his divine life.' He thinks the old Unitarian earned our lasting gratitude for maintaining that Jesus 'was human as we are'; He proclaimed 'the dignity of man,' and this made a necessary contribution to the development of theology. There is much in these studies with which we find ourselves in agreement, but one cannot read the chapter on 'Jesus' without feeling that here lies the gulf between Unitarian teaching and that of the Christian Church. Jesus is 'the virile, clear-thinking, deep-feeling teacher and seer, at whose words of illuminating insight, and life of divinely eloquent goodness, men feel constrained to arise to try to do the will of the Father.' Christ is but a prophet, and 'the prophets of God are many, but God is One.' The papers are well written, and bear witness to a sincere devotion to truth, but Thomas could not rise to the height of his great confession on any foundation laid in this volume.

New Testament History. By G. W. Wade, D.D. (Methuen & Co. 18s. net.)

We are not sure that the contents of this book are adequately indicated by the title, for it is very much more than a record of the course of

history from the nativity of Jesus to the establishment and progress of the Church in the apostolic age. The purely historical sequence covers less than two hundred pages in a volume of seven hundred, and added to it (to constitute Part III. of the book) we have a full account of theological development in the New Testament. Part I. is concerned with topographical, political, social, and religious conditions, and Part II. with the materials and principles of textual and documentary criticism. Thus the book is almost a little encyclopaedia of the New Testament. The ground is well covered; the best and latest authorities have been used, and by the use of smaller type for the critical discussion of questions of difficulty, such as the 'Chronology of the New Testament'—a Note of great value on a complicated matter—the author adequately meets the needs of the student without sacrificing lucidity to compactness of statement. One valuable feature is the insertion of the original Greek or Latin of technical terms (*posea* for *posca* on p. 467 is a misprint). Hebrew is transliterated. We believe that even readers whose acquaintance with these languages is scanty or non-existent will welcome the thoroughness with which the author has observed this convenient practice. The miraculous elements of the New Testament—and in particular we may mention the discussion of the evidence for the Resurrection—are treated both wisely and courageously. While everywhere manifesting adequate scholarship and critical ability, this work is adapted for the requirements of the student of the English version and the professional student alike. This generation is splendidly equipped in books of reference and aids to the understanding of the Bible. Dr. Wade's book is an admirable addition to this ever-growing literature.

What the Churches Stand for. (Milford. 2s. 6d. net.)

This volume contains seven lectures given in Blackheath by representatives of different religious bodies, that it might be seen what each Church stands for. They are frank and outspoken utterances, and show wide sympathy with each other's views, which is a growing characteristic of religious circles. The first lecture, on 'The General Catholic Position,' surveys the belief in the Holy Spirit in regard to the tradition of Scripture on the outward, sacramental, institutional life of the Church and the validity of human reason. Professor Rogers, representing the Church of England, brings out the contrasts between Catholic and sacramental Christianity and Protestantism. Dr. Garvie defines the ecclesiastical principles of Congregationalism, indicates its theological justification, and describes its application in details. Dr. Ryder Smith dwells on Methodist experience, Church government, and organization in a lucid and impressive lecture. The Society of Friends, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians are ably represented, and the lectures cannot fail to promote a better understanding and a richer sympathy between the various Churches. That is the high-road towards the best kind of reunion, and such teaching cannot fail to bear the happiest fruit in the future.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge publish *The Canon Law of Church Institutions*, Vol. I., by Oswald J. Reichel, M.A. (10s. 6d.) The writer began to study this subject fifty years ago when he set himself to inquire what were the laws of the Church in relation to the sacraments, Church discipline, and Church institutions. He has found the province of Canon Law invaded and wellnigh swamped by the Civil Law of Rome, and also invaded by feudal ideas. His Introduction deals with the Apostolic College and the Church's constitution and membership. Then the study passes to Legislative Government—Synods, Provincial Councils, Canons, and Canon Law. The subject is one of special importance, and this luminous and well-documented study will be of great service.—*The Temptation of Our Lord*. By H. J. C. Knight, D.D. (5s. net.) The Bishop of Gibraltar's Hulsean Lectures in 1905–6 were highly prized on their appearance in 1907 by Dr. Swete and Dr. John Wordsworth, and Bishop Montgomery's Introduction gives some facts about the writer, who died in November, 1920. The lectures show the place of the temptation in the life of Christ, the influence they had on the principles of His ministry, and the light they throw on His Person. This convenient reprint will be of great service to all students as a fresh and suggestive interpretation of the temptation in the wilderness.

Old Testament Stories and How to Teach Them. By E. Basil Redlich, B.D. Volume I. (To the election of the first King). (Macmillan & Co., 6s. net.)

Mr. Redlich's *Introduction to Old Testament Study* led to many requests that he would give the versions of the Bible stories and show how to teach the Old Testament. The answer is given in the present volume, which is based on a wide experience, and has been tested in different classes of schools and children of different ages. The Revised Version is used, and all changes from it are printed in italics. The different documents as brought out by Higher Criticism are indicated in such a story as that of Joseph. The first postulate is that nothing taught in the Old Testament should be contradicted elsewhere; the second is the New Testament should be the basis of all Old Testament teaching. The opening chapters deal with these canons and with the Old Testament conception of God in a way that will greatly help teachers. The stories are made impressive and practical, and there are some useful explanatory notes.

Christian Theism Justified, by Frank Ballard, D.D. (Epworth Press, 6s. net.) is marked by the writer's well-known power to meet objections and to state the Christian argument in a lucid and convincing manner. It deals with such problems as the non-intervention of God, the mystery of pain, and shows how firmly grounded is the Gospel assurance that God is love. It is a book that will remove doubts and quicken the faith of all candid readers.—*The Power that Worketh in Us*, by Wilfred J. Moulton (Epworth Press, 4d. net), is a study of Christian experience with its certainty, peace and joy, and the blessing which has come to the world through this teaching. We must re-learn the secret of the New Testament believers if we are to

do for our generation the work they did for theirs. The Questionary at the close brings out the treasures packed into this booklet.—*What Saith the Scripture?* (Routledge and Sons, 6s. 6d. net). Discipulus is a close student of prophecy and holds that it stands emphatically for British-Israelitism, and that the changes which are about to come over the world are signs of the close approach of the end of the age. He is a strong patriot, and regards the British Empire as a solid reality, whereas the League of Nations is 'a sham,' and one of the evil forces 'at work to undermine and, if possible, eventually overthrow the British Empire.' We do not accept his theory, but we can freely admit that he has spent much pains in presenting it in this volume.—*The Soul's Renascence.* By Edward Willmore. (Prima Publishing Co. 1s. net.) This essay was submitted to the Walker Trust, which invited essays on 'Spiritual Regeneration as the Basis of World-Reconstruction.' The writer holds that world-reconstruction will not proceed from within the existing Churches or parties, but will arise from the outsiders. He does not deny that there are good people in the Church who kept it from decay, but he thinks the nation 'must (as a *nation*) stagger downwards on the path of moral and material degeneration, by slow or swift lapse, towards the swine-trough of the Prodigal; where possibly it may, at some remote time, come to itself.' That is a dismal outlook, and we are thankful that we do not share it.—*The Miracles in St. John's Gospel and their Teaching on Eternal Life.* By T. W. Gilbert, B.D. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) This book contains the substance of lectures given under the auspices of the Oxford Diocesan Church Tutorial Classes. After showing the purpose of the Fourth Gospel, its seven signs are described and their deeper significance clearly brought out. All revealed Christ's power over nature, animate and inanimate, and the discourses connected with them showed how man could gain life for himself by belief in Christ. The Upper Room teaching and St. Thomas's great confession form the subject of the two last chapters. It is a valuable study and a real aid to faith. The Greek accents in the notes on pp. 3, 5, 11, 46 need revision, and also the name of God on p. 5.—*The Holy Spirit of God.* By W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D. (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association. \$2 net.) This able work has been out of print for a couple of years, and this second impression will be of real service to all students. The first part sets forth 'The Biblical Revelation,' and this leads up to 'The Historical Interpretation'; 'The Theological Formulation'; 'The Modern Application.' Dr. Thomas feels that the intimate connexion of the truth about the Holy Spirit with some of the burning ecclesiastical questions of the day is apt to be overlooked. His book will be a stimulus and an inspiration to every devout reader.—Dr. Swinstead has spent several years as chaplain to our Legation in Stockholm, and his comparison of *The Swedish Church and Ours* (S.P.C.K. 6s. 6d. net.) will be much appreciated by all students of the relations between them. Olaus Petri made a claim in 1529 to use Swedish for all who did not understand Latin. The main principles of reform embodied in their liturgies were much the same in Sweden as in our own country. The Articles of Religion, the observances of the Church year, and the postures taken in worship are compared in a very instructive way.

Suggestions for a Syllabus in Religious Teaching. By G. B. Ayre. (Student Christian Movement. 4s. net.) This is a second edition of a work that has been out of print two years, but there has been a continuous demand for it, and it is now revised and enlarged in the light of growing reference. Two-thirds of it is new matter. It is arranged for a seven years' course, giving suggestive outlines of lessons which illustrate the Fatherhood of God as revealed in His care for His children, in the lives of His servants, in Jesus Christ, in an earthly brotherhood. The story of Joseph has been described as 'at once the most artistic and fascinating of Old Testament biographies, and the dramatic power of its great scenes is of a very high quality. Tolstoi says that here we have all the fundamentals of a story. All children will delight in it, and it may well be taken later, when the children are better able to discuss and analyse the characters.' Teachers should not overlook this very suggestive and helpful book.—*A Soul with a Sword.* By the Rev. A. G. Lee. (Morgan & Scott. 2s. 6d. net.) The basis of this book was a few sermons preached whilst Mr. Lee was on furlough from China. His subjects are 'Love,' 'Union,' 'The Cross,' 'Prayer,' and 'The Holy Spirit.' The treatment is intensely evangelical, practical, and soul-stirring. He dreams of 'a Church with a soul and a sword. Where, oh, where, are the men and women to make it?'—*Christianity and Trade Unionism.* By Walter H. Armstrong. (Epworth Press. 3d. net.) This is a temperate and well-informed statement of the principles of trade unionism. The service which the Church has rendered the movement is clearly stated, and it is urged that she should stand by the workers in their days of economic weakness. Mr. Arthur Henderson's Foreword is admirable.—*The Eternal God: Chapters on the Doctrine of the Trinity.* (Morgan & Scott. 2s. 6d. net.) These studies appeared originally in *The Christian*, where they were much appreciated. The Rev. John Thomas, M.A., who writes the three chapters on 'God: the Father' rejects the doctrine of evolution in favour of specific creation. The Rev. Gordon Watt, B.A., has five chapters on 'God: the Son,' but he needs to look at his Revised Version of Rom. vii., from which the word 'atonement' disappears. Robert Caldwell writes three chapters on 'God: the Holy Spirit,' and to these Dr. Meyer adds a fourth on the Spirit's 'co-witness with the believer.' It is a devout study of a supreme subject.—*Catholicism with Freedom*, by A. E. J. Rawlinson, B.D. (Longmans & Co., 6s. net.), is a paper read at the Anglo-Catholic Congress at Birmingham which pleads for a Catholicism genuinely free and liberal. The writer sees that this means a new policy, and that the price will have to be paid in the form of a crop of immediate heresies, partial errors, inadequate statements, false starts, unsuccessful experiments. 'Restatements and modernisms which depart from the gospel instead of restating it will die of themselves.' It is a word for the times, though it will have to be received with caution.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Mazzini's Letters to an English Family. Edited by E. F. Richards. Vols. II. and III. (John Lane. 16s. net each volume).

The fiftieth anniversary of Mazzini's death has been marked in this country by the just and eloquent tribute of the British premier to the greatest of modern Italian patriots. 'I doubt whether any man of his generation exercised so profound an influence on the destinies of Europe as did Mazzini. The map of Europe as we see it to-day is the map of Joseph Mazzini. . . . His doctrines, his ideals, his example, fired the hearts that led the peoples across the threshold into the new age.' If such homage of truth should lead English readers to seek acquaintance with Mazzini—with the *man* and with the *teacher*—Mr. Lloyd George has done a great service to his countrymen. And no recent source of knowledge on this subject can be commended as heartily as the edition of *Letters to an English Family* now completed by Mrs. Richards. The first volume (1844–1854) was published in 1920 and reviewed in this journal for January, 1921; the present volumes (1855–1860, 1861–1872) carry forward the history to the death of Mazzini and to the era of a free and united Italy—the *third Italy*, with Rome again as her capital city.

For no true record of Mazzini can fail to be historical as well as biographical in its interest; it must cast its own light not only on the man himself but also on the national movement of which he was a vital and inspiring force. The *Risorgimento*, from which modern Italy sprang, enlisted the noblest sons of the nation in its service; it gave to them a purpose which exalted, whilst it disciplined, their heroism and their sacrifice; they gave to it a wealth of character, of genius, of rich personality, which made this liberation of a people one of the most brightly illuminated pages of history. And for fifty years all the threads of Mazzini's work were woven into the web of his nation's life, into this slowly compacted and many coloured fabric of a nationality in the making. In this aspect of the narrative it is well that the reader should remember that there are other documents of the history to be studied; the Mazzinian version of the *Risorgimento* needs for its background the more general and less partial accounts of such writers as Bolton King (*History of Italian Unity*) and Countess Cesaresco (*The Liberation of Italy*). Trevelyan's three volumes of the Garibaldian epic, and Cesaresco's *Cavour* will also cast another light on some events than that which falls upon them in the Mazzini literature; even where passion or prejudice do not warp the vision, many passages of the history are too great or too intricate to bear only one interpretation.

Mrs. Richards' notes connecting the *Letters* now before us are, of necessity, sympathetic with Mazzini's judgements and actions in the many crises where the leaders of Italian patriotism were most sharply and hopelessly divided among themselves. But there are many seasons in this long record of the national struggle in which

the harmony of the common purpose drowns every discord, and at every season the editorial notes enable the reader to knit up a clear and connected history, and to see the progress of the Italian cause through every check of failure, and by every devious turning of the many obstacles besetting the path. The rise of Cavour; the intervention of Piedmont in the Crimean War and its entrance thus into a positive part in European politics; the alliance of France with Italy against Austria and the winning of Lombardy; Garibaldi's conquest of the two Sicilies; the annexation of Venice at the close of the Austro-Prussian War and the entry into Rome as a consequence of the Franco-German War—these stages which made and marked the advance of Italy to her goal are all set forth by the editor in a manner which gives not only full interpretation to the *Letters* but also an excellent outline of *Risorgimento* history. There are characterizations scattered here and there which are worth more than many pages of description, e.g. on Garibaldi: 'His sway over the people lay in just the unnamable, unnamenable element that qualified his whole individuality, and made him stand to them as that transcendent Vision and Goodness which, of themselves, constitute Authority; the authority that grips the spirit of a people'; and on Cavour: 'He was not a democrat, inasmuch as he would rather work for than through a people; he saw, and rightly, that brains were the asset most to be reckoned with, and he believed in his own brains. He must keep his own hand on the helm.' Mazzini is Mrs. Richards' 'hero'; she shares his antipathy for Cavour and for his diplomacy, but she recognizes his vision, and his unselfishness, 'seeking something far bigger than his own interests.' And her blame of his fears—'fears that turn the man who might lead into the pilot who merely waits and watches to bring his own barque in on the crest of a wave'—may well seem praise to us if we recall that in the political storms and currents of that time Italy needed most in her statesmen the leadership of the pilot to bring her into safe haven.

But it is Mazzini who shines out from these pages as the 'spiritual splendour' of Italy's *Risorgimento*. No greater tribute can be paid to the *Letters* than to say that they confirm every estimate of him which the reader of his greater essays and, above all, of his *Duties of Man*, will instinctively have made. Here also are manifest, through many scores of intimate letters—on subjects ranging from bazaars and prices to the Balkans and their political prospects—the noble charity and tenderness, the self-abnegation, the ardent faith, the far-ranging and deep-piercing vision, the calm confidence, the passionately religious temper of a dedicated soul: dedicated to God and to humanity. There are biographies of Mazzini—notably Bolton King's—which have done much to reveal him to a generation of English readers, but no collection of his letters, in our language, has hitherto served us as the more intimate revelation of autobiography. 'Now he belongs to the immortals,' was said of Lincoln in the hour of his tragic death. Mazzini has come more slowly into that kingdom of true fame, but his place is secure in it, and will find ready explanation to the readers of these three volumes. Almost all the letters are written to Emilie Ashurst Venturi (like Jessie White Mario and Countess Cesaresco, British by birth, but Italian

by marriage and sympathy), a member of the London family of Ashurst which gave the exile his one real 'home' in England. Madame Venturi published a *Memoir* of her friend more than forty years ago ; these long withheld *Letters* are the posthumous completion of a noble task which makes a great friendship fruitful to a later and wider circle of readers. Mrs. Richards, inheriting the task from the hands of Madame Venturi, has not permitted the lapse of time to weaken or dull its fulfilment ; there are no dead issues or outworn passages in the *Letters* given, or in the connecting paragraphs. No student of Mazzini can afford to neglect these volumes ; no wise reader will count them too costly when he has come by their pages into contact, and even communion, with one of the most gifted minds and most exalted characters of his country and century.

Quotation from the *Letters* is easy, selection from such a storehouse more difficult. It may suffice to illustrate, by a few passages out of many possible ones, some of the qualities of Mazzini's personality to which reference is made above. His *charity* ; e.g. he writes to his too violent disciples, embittered against some of his opponents : 'Repeat to yourselves this little maxim, morning and night : "That there are, in the actual world, neither angels nor devils ; that our task here below is not that of the last Christian judgement, but that of saving, if possible, from the devil those who have a leaning to him, and of helping up more and more those who aspire towards the angel ; that at all events we must make the best of the former for the good of the latter." ' His *self-abnegation* ; 'It does not matter that I am not gratefully treated (by Italy) ; the important fact is that there is a bond of unity between all Italians, and that the country must *act* and conquer.' His *vision* ; 'You (he writes to an American in 1863) have struck deep in the heart of Europe a conviction that there is in you a strong, almost incalculable power to be reckoned with in the onward march of mankind. . . . You have become a leading nation. You may act as such. In the great battle which is fought in the world between right and wrong, justice and arbitrary rule, duty and egotism . . . God and idols, your part is marked ; you must accept it.' His *religion* ; 'Life is a mission, a duty, and a battle for its fulfilment. . . . You cannot for one moment doubt (it) if you earnestly think that life is from God. . . . Is not the last wish of the martyr, the strong, silent unheard belief of the fettered prisoner, reaching God and weighing on the fate of Humanity ?' Almost every page of the book would furnish illustration of these elements which gave to Mazzini his unique influence over his own generation, would give also no less surely the proof of that quality which speaks still to us as we read his central teaching—the proof of his 'dynamic mind,' as Mrs. Richards aptly terms it.

The Diary of a Journalist. Later Entries. By Sir Henry Lucy. With a Portrait. (John Murray, 15s. net.)

Sir Henry Lucy is a prince among journalists who unites discernment with genial temper and kindly appreciation of all kinds of celebrities. The first volume of his diary made us long for more, and the twenty years covered by his new volume are as rich in striking

incident as his earlier days. The record is here brought down to 1910, and we hope that Sir Henry will not fail to give us another volume in due course. The diary has special interest because it conveys the impressions of the moment in all their freshness, and with a variety which never palls upon a reader. We begin with Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, who appear again and again in these pages, and end with Lord Fisher's letter after his return from America in 1910. The old admiral writes, 'I've been in America getting my son married. His bride you will both love when you come here to stay with them, and also your new rooms are built, as the new house is to start at once.' He had been impressed by America. 'Everything is so splendidly big.' 'About seventy millionaires gave me a private lunch, and no speeches. I told them it was a fine old hen that hatched the American eagle, and you should have heard them cheer !' Mr. Carnegie told Sir Henry that he never carried a purse and rarely had any loose silver in his pocket. One of his servants usually travelled with him, and when necessity arose acted as purse-bearer. Parliamentary celebrities figure largely in the diary, and there is a charming account of a conversation with George V when Prince of Wales. Some quaint stories are told about Dean Stanley, and Mark Twain has his racy page. Lord Rosebery has a warm admirer in Sir Henry, and he pays high tribute to Lord Salisbury's power in debate and to Earl Balfour and Viscount Grey. It is a volume with riches on every page, and it is written with the picturesqueness and insight which we have learned to associate with all Sir Henry Lucy's work.

Mazzini : Patriot and Prophet. By Arthur Rudman.
(Epworth Press. 5s. net.)

This study has been written with a conviction that the permanent message of Mazzini's life has special significance for our own time. His patriotism, with its elevation and idealism, sets an example for a generation to which patriotism has become again a vital word. Born at Genoa in 1805, before he died at Pisa in 1872 he saw Italy rise from subjection to Austria into the rank of a free and strong State. Mr. Rudman's first chapter is given to the Italy of the Resurrection, with its serfdom and its liberation leaders—Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour. The whole struggle is there set vividly before our eyes. Then we watch the Training of a Prophet; his Early Writings; his years of exile in England; the brief-lived republics at Rome and Venice; the great comradeship of sacrifice with Cavour and Garibaldi; and Mazzini's closing years, when every class of his countrymen recognized that he had inspired the national forces working for liberation. The last chapter sets him forth as 'The Citizen of the World,' whose work was an inspiration reaching far beyond the limits of the Italian hour and scene. He saw in Italy's deliverance the preparation for a veritable League of Nations. His vision penetrated to the moral sources of life and progress and his religious faith shone forth more clearly after every season of doubt. It is a great story, and is here told with an insight and enthusiasm which make it a school for true patriotism.

Memories of an Australian Ministry, 1868-1921. By J. E. Carruthers, D.D. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Carruthers was born in 1848, in Sydney, which was then, as now, the principal centre of population in Australia. Its population of 60,000 has swelled in his lifetime to almost a million. His father was a sturdy Scotsman, his mother was English, and counted it her chief business to look after her home and her children. In 1848 the population of Australia was little more than 300,000. There was not a mile of railway on the continent, and telegraphs were unknown. Dr. Carruthers dwells lovingly on the influences of his early life and on the revival of 1864, when he was converted under the ministry of Thomas Angwin. He began to preach when he was seventeen and a half, and in 1867 was a student for the Methodist ministry at old Newington, on the Parramatta River. He has much to say about William Kelynack and William Curnow, the pulpit orators of the day, and of the Makers of Methodism in that period, which will interest readers in England as well as in Australia. His own ministry began at Narrabri, nearly a week's journey from Sydney and one hundred and ten miles distant from the nearest Methodist preacher. There was not a single church or local preacher in his circuit. At one place there was horse-racing in the principal street, and when Mr. Carruthers remonstrated with the constable the racing men proposed to lynch him. He was able, however, to hold service that Sunday evening and on other visits. Hospitality was never lacking to the young preacher, and even an hotel keeper would seldom accept payment for entertainment. 'It seemed to be an unwritten law of the north-west that parsons were to be franked everywhere.' Mr. Carruthers seldom missed a meal, and never had to sleep without a roof over his head. There was scant time for study, but life there was a school for training in sturdy self-reliance. From these personal experiences Dr. Carruthers passes to matters historical and general. He has much to say of the evolution of Methodism in Australasia and of the General Conferences from 1894 to 1901. He fights over again his own brave and triumphant battle to secure for the supernumerary ministers of his Church the allowances to which they were entitled and of which they were certainly in need. From this economic struggle he turns to the revival of missionary interest in 1907, by which Fiji and other missions in the Pacific received a new impetus. Dr. Carruthers had now established his position as one of the leaders of his Church. In 1895 he became President of the New South Wales Conference, in 1910 Secretary of the General Conference. In 1913 he was elected President of the United New South Wales Conference, and in 1917 President of the General Conference. He gives much information as to the controversies of his time and the steps which led up to Methodist Union, and describes his visits to the missions in the Pacific and his coming to England in 1908, where 'for nine weeks we feasted our eyes and delighted our souls with the physical charms, the historic sights, the rural beauties, and the religious opportunities of old England, interspersed with brief visits to Scotland and Ireland. Did ever tourist crowd into so brief a space a wider range or more interesting variety of travel than we succeeded in

accomplishing ?' The pages devoted to this visit are alive with enthusiasm. Dr. Carruthers was for more than fifteen years editor of the *Sydney Methodist*, and filled that post with distinguished ability and unfailing courtesy. He looks on the future of Australia as fully assured from the material and political standpoints. 'Its wide extent, its varied and almost illimitable resources, its genial if somewhat erratic climate, and its favoured geographical position, combine to guarantee a great place among the nations for this, the youngest of them all.' The forces that make for secularism and materialism are, however, all too active, and there is growing danger of exalting the material over the spiritual. That is honeycombing business, lowering the ideals of public life, and diminishing the sense of reverence for sacred things. That peril calls on each Church to do its part in winning the Commonwealth for God, and this story of one life thus devoted will be an inspiring force wherever it is read.

Monastic Life in the Middle Ages; with a Note on Great Britain and the Holy See, 1792-1806. By Cardinal Gasquet. (Bell & Sons. 8s. 6d. net.)

The thirteen essays gathered together in this volume are the ripe fruit of the most eminent Roman Catholic historian of our day. That on Abbot Wallingford of St. Albans is a vindication of that great ecclesiastic from the grave charges brought against him in the so-called 'Register' of the second abbacy. The writer of this record was bitterly opposed to William Wallingford, but the 'infamous charges and suggestions' of peculation and misappropriation interpolated by this hostile critic were taken no notice of by Abbot Whethamstede, who continued Wallingford in all his offices. Dr. Gairdner's representation of the relations between Cardinal Morton and St. Albans is a very good illustration how even so excellent an historian, to whom the entire world is so much indebted, may stray from the path of history into the realms of romance once the sign-posts of facts have been disregarded.' A shorter paper on 'The Making of St. Alban's Shrine' described the work of the renowned goldsmith Anketil, who became a monk here at the beginning of the twelfth century. He made a wonderful chalice and paten out of eight marks of gold which Abbot Gregory sent as a present to Pope Celestine. The chief part of the shrine was repoussé work, and the figures of gold plate were made solid by cement poured into the hollows at the back. The whole structure was covered with these plates of beaten gold, and won 'the admiration of all who saw it.' When it was so far completed as to receive the reliques of the saint in 1129, Abbot Gregory melted down much of the gold to relieve the poor of the neighbourhood in a time of great scarcity. A few years of prosperity, however, enabled him to replenish the treasury and adorn the shrine with silver, gold, and gems much more precious than before. When the abbey was desecrated the portable shrine, containing the reliques of the saint, rested on a base of Purbeck marble. It was covered with 'plates of gold on which were wrought figures of saints and scenes from history. Jewels of all kinds, gems, cameos, and all manner of precious stone, thickly studded the framework of

these repoussé pictures, and sparkled in the light of the tapers ever burning round it. On the cresting of the high-pitched roof perched the silver-gilt eagle with outspread wings, which Abbot de la Mare had made to crown the work.' That was the shrine itself, which was borne in procession on Ascension Day and the two festivals of St. Alban. Another paper is on an account-book of Nicholas Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, which covers two years—1371 to 1373. A considerable part records the purchase of fish, of which over thirty kinds are named. Some of the great fish dinners must have been truly wonderful banquets, as is seen by the list of payments. Other entries show the extent of a mediaeval stable. The Abbot's grey mare was ill, and a quart of oil was purchased for it. Another entry shows that a scythe was bought to cut fresh grass for the favourite palfrey. An essay based on 'Dives and Pauper, fructuously treating upon the Ten Commandments,' is used to show how our fathers were taught in Catholic days. 'Books and Bookmaking' are illustrated from early chronicles and accounts. 'A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land' is described and 'A Day with the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the Sixteenth Century.' The Cardinal's work on the Vulgate gives special interest to his account of 'Roger Bacon and the Latin Vulgate.' It brings out his grasp of the whole subject of Biblical revision and the truth and clearness of the critical principles he laid down so many centuries ago. The last paper, 'Great Britain and the Holy See,' is based on letters of Mgr. Erskine, who came on a mission from Rome to the Court of St. James in 1793, and of the English agent at Rome. The mission was due to complications arising from the war with the French Republicans. The papers make delightful reading, and are full of details which throw light on many pages of the past.

The History of Weyhill and its Ancient Fair. By the Rev. R. M. Heanley, M.A. (Winchester: Warren & Son. 10s. net.)

The writer was Rector of Weyhill, near Andover, and Rural Dean, and his book was finished in 1918, but its publication was delayed by various causes and he died suddenly in 1915. Only part of his manuscript is here printed, but it is so interesting a study of local history that we hope the whole may be published at a later date. There was a church at Weyhill in Saxon days, and its name De la Woe in the Episcopal Registers gives reason to suppose that it took the place of a heathen temple. The dedication to St. Michael, whom the Anglo-Saxons substituted for Woden in their affections, seems to point in the same direction. The church has a narrow nave with south aisle and north transept, and a delightful thirteenth-century chancel. Up to 1863 the roofs were hidden beneath low ceilings and high pews; three-decker pulpit and big reading-desk effectually concealed the real beauty of the building. Mr. Heanley describes the improvements since made, and gives an account of the various monuments. The fair at Weyhill was a commercial affair of some importance as early as 1225. In later days cheese were sold on the open down by the roadside. The parish registers of baptisms,

burials, and marriages go back to 1564 ; the churchwardens' books to 1540. A chapter is devoted to these records, and a final one gives particulars of the rectors of the parish, with a list which is fairly complete from the later half of the thirteenth century. A portrait of Mr. Heanley, a view of the church, and a plan of the fair ground add to the value of a painstaking study of local history and one that is of unusual interest.

The Blue Guides : Wales. Edited by Findlay Muirhead, M.A., F.R.G.S. 22 Maps and Plans. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Wales is here described in a series of forty-nine routes, carefully planned so as to show the ready means of access to the chief centres of interest and to suggest the points that may be conveniently grouped together. The picturesque beauty of the country is well brought out, but no aspect that appeals to the tourist has been overlooked. The descriptions are clear and concise, and special attention is paid to the fact that much of the finest scenery can only be adequately explored on foot. Historical and literary associations and architecture receive special attention. Mr. J. E. Morris, B.A., has prepared the chief part of the guide, but Professor Fleure has written on the geographical features and Professor Gwynn Jones on the history and social system and on the Welsh language. The 'practical information' as to railways and other modes of conveyance, hotels, motoring, cycling, and fishing, are just what the tourist needs. The guide proper begins at Chester and passes on to Llandudno and Bangor. The three divisions are North, Central, and South Wales, and much matter is skilfully packed into small compass. The maps are very clear, and the glossary of Welsh words will be found of real service. It is a light and handy volume which will slip into the pocket, and is clearly printed and strongly bound. The Blue Guides have already won a high reputation, and this addition to the series will be as popular as those on London, Paris, England, and Belgium which have previously appeared.

Letters of Edmund Burke. A selection edited, with an Introduction, by Harold J. Laski. (Milford. 2s. 6d. net.) These letters dwell mainly on Burke's favourite topics of Ireland, America, and the French Revolution, but a few early letters to Richard Shackleton, the son of his old schoolmaster, are included, which show that he could unbend and was able to put his thoughts in rhyme. The later letters bring us into touch with the celebrities of the time, such as Lord Chatham, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Temple, Lord Albemarle, Lord Bute, and Lord Shelburne, and throw interesting sidelights on the political movements of the period. Burke tells Arthur Young in October, 1770, that he has sown about an acre of carrots for a trial at Beaconsfield. He had tried 'to fatten two middle-sized bacon-hogs with carrots,' but after two months found them as lean as ever. Then he had recourse to barley-meal, and in a short time they became as fat as he could wish. He tells Mr. Young about his agricultural experiments, and asks for advice on various points. It is an illuminating little volume on the political and social life of the eighteenth century.

GENERAL

Christian Responsibility for the Social Order. By Samuel E. Keeble. (Epworth Press. 6s. net.)

MR. KEEBLE has made this subject his own. During his boyhood as an orphan in London he realized, 'with increasing horror and dismay, the unjustifiable contrast between the Christian home and the business world even of Christian men.' Observation and experience as a young man led him to certain conclusions, to the expression of which as an essential part of Christ's gospel to mankind he has devoted his life. He does not regret his early loneliness, but he 'rejoices in the exceeding great army which has arisen from the dry bones and is standing on its feet in the modern Church, due to the inbreathing of the Spirit of Christ, which has blown from all the four winds of heaven.' The Great War swept society out of many untenable positions, and long before it came Christians began to see that they had a real responsibility for the community. We now see that social reconstruction is inevitable, and that an un-Christian, or even a non-Christian reconstruction would be temporary, if not disastrous. Mr. Keeble first examines the religious and rational basis of this view of Christian responsibility for the social order, and then passes on to the history of this sense of responsibility from the first Christian ages down to our own day. It is a singularly instructive and well-informed survey. The third section is 'Critical.' The guilt of the Christian conscience lies in permitting the hardening of law and the heathenizing of theory. The first protest was made by English Christians, whose work is briefly but suggestively recorded. The real founders of the Christian social reform movement in England, Mr. Keeble says, were the poets of the Lake School—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey. Then we consider 'The Protest of Continental Christians' and 'The Final Protest of the Christian Conscience.' The ground is thus prepared for the 'Constructive Section,' which sets forth the Christian relation to proposals for a new social order. The approval or disapproval by Christians of the new democratic demands for industrial reconstruction must depend on the degree in which they tend to elevate human life and character in the pursuit of material ends. These must be sought as means to something higher. 'The process of seeking them must be made normally, not as ignoble and degrading but as noble and elevating as possible.' 'The only society Christians should tolerate—indeed, the only one the Christian religion ever will tolerate—is that where the Lord Jesus is crowned its actual King, controlling by consent all the processes of production, distribution, and exchange, and the possession, use, and consumption of all material things; subordinating them to the exigencies and demands of the spiritual life of man, as aids to the creation of moral personality.' As to the specific Christian contribution towards a new social order, Mr. Keeble insists on the subordination of material values to spiritual; real respect for personality; service as the ruling motive; the observance of Christian social justice. 'The Christian contribution

of great, guiding, God-given principles ; of the spiritual equipment of vision, temper, and power ; and of an ever-increasing company of competent Christian social servants, if accepted and utilized, will enable society to weather its impending storms safely, and sail into the haven of peace and rest.' The whole subject is treated with insight and with practical wisdom which will commend it to every one who is seeking to build the new social system on true regard to all that is noblest and best in human nature.

Countries of the Mind. Essays in Literary Criticism. By John Middleton Murry. (W. Collins Sons & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

It is a real education in literary criticism to study these essays. Mr. Murry begins with 'Shakespeare and Love,' of which he remains the pre-eminent poet. In his final period he returns to the love of his youth. In *The Tempest* he looks at the world through the eyes of Prospero and Miranda. 'The world's great age begins anew.' 'The magic of Shakespeare's last enchantment is that he makes us believe that the eyes of love alone can see the miracle ; and perhaps it is the ultimate truth of life that indeed they do.' 'A neglected heroine of Shakespeare' is a portrait of the wife of Coriolanus gained by some readjustment of the speakers in the drama. The lines here attributed to Virgilia show the fine temper and intense affection of the woman whom the soldier calls 'My gracious silence !' *Burton's Anatomy* brings to life both the Oxford scholar and his masterpiece. The studies of the poetry of William Collins, of John Clare, and of Walter de la Mare are of real interest and high critical value. 'Arabia Deserta' is described as 'a direct enlargement of human experience.' It has been slow in coming to its own. Since it was published 'many ships have been launched and have foundered ; Mr. Doughty's sails slowly on to a certain harbour among the classics of the English language.' The estimates of Baudelaire, Amiel, Flaubert, and Stendhal have their own importance. Amiel was a Stoic 'who had a clear intuition of the insufficiency of Stoicism. Morality, he knew, was a discipline ; he knew also that it was not enough to suffer the discipline ; he must surrender himself to it. This act of surrender was impossible to him, but he thought he saw how it might be achieved without disloyalty to the truth his intellect declared to him.' Mr. Murry is no worshipper of Flaubert, though he thinks he 'came as near to the highest literary genius as a man can come by the taking of pains,' and regards *Madame Bovary* as a great work of literature. The brief paper which closes the volume—'A Critical Credo'—has special value as a critic's *apologia*. Criticism should be less timid, and 'should openly accept the fact that its deepest judgements are moral. A critic should be conscious of his moral assumptions and take pains to put into them the highest morality of which he is capable. That is only another way of saying that the critic should be conscious of himself as an artist.' The essays collected together in this volume are not unworthy of such a conception of the critic's vocation.

The Percy Reprints. Edited by H. F. B. Brett-Smith. No. 4, *The Seven Deadly Sins of London.* By Thomas Dekker. No. 5, *Incognita.* By William Congreve. (Oxford: Blackwell. 4s. 6d. net each.)

The seven deadly sins enter London 'drawne in seven severall Coaches, Through the seven severall gates of the Citie, bringing the Plague with them.' That is Dekker's description on the title-page of his pamphlet. It was published in 1606, and was the work of seven days. He begins with a reference to the Bible. 'I finde it written in that Booke where no untruther can be read: in that Booke whose leaves shall out-last sheetes of brasse, and whose lynes lead to eternity; yea even in that Booke that was pend by the best Author of the best wisdome, allowed by a Deity, licensed by the Omnipotent, and published (in all Languages to all Nations) by the greatest, truest, and onely Divine, thus I find it written, that for Sinne, Angels were throwne out of heaven.' He glories in the greatness of London, but is keenly alive to her vices. He shows these 'Sinnes' 'that thou and all the world shall see their uglinesse, for by seeing them, thou mayst avoyd them, and by avoyding them, be the happiest and most renowned of citties.' As he portrays the sins we get many a glimpse at the city of the early seventeenth century. 'In every street, carts and coaches make such a thundering as if the world ranne upon wheeles: at every corner, men, women, and children meete in such shoales, that postes are sette up of purpose to strengthen the houses, least with justling one another they should shoulder them downe. Besides, hammers are beating in one place, Tubs hooping in another, Pots clinking in a third, water-tankards running at tilt in a fourth; here are porters sweating under burdens, there merchants-men bearing bags of money, Chapmen (as if they were at Leape-frog) skippe out of one shop into another: Tradesmen (as if they were dancing Galliards) are lusty at legges and never stand still: all are as busie as countrie Attorneys at an Assises: how then can Idleness thinke to inhabit it heere?' It is a book that still appeals to Londoners, and the editor's Introduction, bibliographical and other notes make this a notable edition. *Incognita* did not find favour in the eyes of Dr. Johnson, or Macaulay, or Sir Leslie Stephen, but we agree with Sir Walter Raleigh that there is great promise in this early work of the dramatist and humorist. The double love-story has its scene in Florence, and the digressions add piquancy and sparkle to the plot. Aurelian is overwhelmed when the lady pulls off her mask. He 'fancy'd he saw a little nest of Cupids break from the tresses of her hair, and every one officiously betake himself to his task. Some fann'd with their downy wings her glowing cheeks; while others brushed the balmy dew from off her face, leaving alone a heavenly Moisture blubbing on her Lips, on which they drank and revell'd for their pains.' There is adventure in the story, and a reader's curiosity is kept keenly alive to the last. Mr. Blackwell has got up both the little reprints in attractive binding and good type, and they will be much appreciated by a select circle.

A Pepysian Garland: Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639. Edited by Hyder E. Rollins, Ph.D. (Cambridge University Press. 21s. net.)

Seventy-three of these ballads come from the collection presented to Magdalene College, Cambridge, six from the Wood and Rawlinson collection at the Bodleian, and one from the Manchester Free Reference Library. It is likely that the majority of the older ballads are from the collection of John Selden. The five volumes bequeathed by Pepys contain 1,671 distinct ballads, of which 964 are unique. Dr. Rollins of New York University gives many important details in his Preface. He uses the word ballad of printed broadsheets only. Ballads worthy to be called real poetry can almost be counted on the fingers of two hands. 'They were, in the main, the equivalent of modern newspapers. Journalistic ballads outnumbered all other types. Others were sermons, or romances, or ditties of love and jealousy, of tricks and jests, comparable to the ragtime or music-hall songs of the present time.' They are mirrors of the time intended for the common people. Among the eighty given in this volume are accounts of the assassination of Henry IV of France, Sir Walter Raleigh's lamentation before he was beheaded, murders and battles. 'Leander's love to loyal Hero,' 'The Famous Rat-catcher,' and love stories of all kinds are here, opening many a window into life three centuries ago. An introduction to each ballad gives particulars as to authors and sources. The Leander 'broadsheet' had four wood-cuts and filled four columns, and in it William Meash sets himself to immortalize Hero and Leander. The Rat-catcher's travels in France and his return to London 'make a highly interesting, if coarse, song. He carries a flag with three rats in various colours and bears a bag of poisons.'

When he had tript this Iland,
from Bristow unto Douer,
With painefull Bagge and painted Flagge.
to France he sayled over.

Religious ballads, like 'The History of Jonas' and 'A Prophecy of the Judgement Day,' are mingled with 'The Post of Ware: with a packet of strange newes out of divers countries' and 'The Downfall of a Corrupted Conscience,' which describes the way in which Sir Francis Michell, Justice of the Peace of Middlesex, was stripped of his knighthood and honours for corrupt practices. Fun and pathos mingle in the collection in the most entertaining way. The volume is printed in bold type and handsomely bound. It gives a picture of bygone life and morals such as it would not be easy to find elsewhere.

The Poetic Mind. By F. C. Prescott. (Macmillan & Co. 9s. net.)

The Professor of English in Cornell University seeks to expound the operation of the poet's mind. The subject lies halfway between literature and psychology, and is here dealt with from the literary side. The poets are themselves excellent psychologists, and many of them, like Dryden, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Emerson, and Roe,

have been disposed to introspection and self-analysis and have 'far surpassed ordinary men in subtlety of discrimination and in acuteness and depth of insight.' Professor Prescott has made such full use of these sources that his book may 'almost be regarded as a description of the poetic mind in the language of the poets themselves.' He first turns his attention to the distinction between ordinary thinking and dreaming, the practical thought and the poetic. Typical examples of vision are given. There is a striking analogy between poetic vision and the vision of dreams. Poets are referred to as dreamers and dreamers as poets. Chatterton and Blake are more 'visionary,' Tennyson and Longfellow are less, though Tennyson had visions and trance-like thoughts. Childhood is the great time for imagination, and in the childhood of the race thought is almost entirely associative. Purposive thought grows very gradually out of this. An interesting chapter is given to 'The Unconscious Mind in Poetry.' 'Poetry is superior to prose because the latter is merely "conscious discourse," while poetry is created in the "quiet, mysterious depths."' The eye of the mind is the characteristic organ of the poet and visionary. Ideal seeing is the first and indispensable work of the poet. Imagination and the formation of imaginary characters are discussed in three chapters. 'The imagination creates the characters, places all on the same footing, and sets them in motion in their appropriate background. The imagination does all but tell the story.' The poetic impulse lies in the poet's desires, wishes, or aspirations. 'The poet is naturally an individualist and an enemy of convention. Shelley, for example, was at war with society. Even Shelley, however, had to make his own one-sided adjustment with the social demands in moral matters.' The chapter on 'Poetic Madness and Catharsis' is fresh and suggestive, and 'The Uses of Poetry' are well set forth in the closing chapter of this able and instructive discussion.

An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin. By H. P. V. Nunn.
(Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.)

Greek Testament grammars abound, but an Introduction to the grammar of the Vulgate and the Latin Fathers is something every New Testament student eager to explore the versions of the text must have desired and sought in vain. The need is now met by this carefully framed and useful little book. Those who have dipped into Tertullian or Augustine have at once detected peculiarities of their Latin idiom not to be paralleled in the classical writers. Not that ecclesiastical Latin, useful phrase as it is, is to be regarded as cut off from the main stream and evolution of the Latin language as a quite distinctive phenomenon any more than Hellenistic Greek, which was formerly held to be an independent form of Greek *sui generis*. Both are examples of a development from an artificial literary language to a more popular idiom which found expression in literature. Though the Latin of the Vulgate is a translation of a Hebrew or a Greek original, and for this reason is not to be regarded as 'typical of ecclesiastical Latin,' the author has wisely taken his examples from the Vulgate New Testament as containing most of the common constructions to be found in ecclesiastical Latin. Any one who has

mastered the declensions and conjugations will find himself at home in this grammar, and can test his progress by the interesting set of extracts from ecclesiastical writers at the end of the book, among which we think an example of that most individual of all the Fathers, Tertullian, might have been included. There is much to be said for the view that the best way for an adult to learn Latin is to begin with the Latin Bible. Whether beginner or not, the reader will find this Introduction to be a valuable aid.

The A B C of Indian Art. By J. F. Blacker. (Stanley Paul & Co. 15s. net.)

India had its workers in iron and steel long before any records of them have reached us. The Rig-Veda mentions gold armour and golden chariots as well as gold ornaments and jewels. Indian craftsmen were hand-workers, and every production had an individual note. In modern times Oriental art has been westernized and rajahs have been less and less disposed to become its patrons. Buddhist art in India has been incorporated with the Hindu and their gods gradually approximated. Mr. Blacker's chapters on Buddhism, Hinduism, and the Parsee religion are full of interest. The Taj Mahal, the most famous and beautiful mausoleum in the world, is described with much detail, and the wonders of Ahmedabad, Benares, and Delhi are vividly set forth. The artisans of Delhi were famous for their gold and silver embroidery, jewellery, ivory painting and carving, pottery, gold and silver plate, silks and cotton, carpets, and the like. The Cave temples have some fine carving. Arms, armour, brass and copper wares, carpets, damascined and inlaid work, enamels, jewelled jade, jewellery, and personal ornaments are described with a wealth of illustration. The book is written in a pleasant style, and its illustrations are beautifully reproduced.

The Forsyte Saga. By John Galsworthy. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d. net.)

This title was originally intended for *The Man of Property*, and Mr. Galsworthy is glad to use it for the five studies which make up the present volume. It contains the three novels which have gained a European reputation: *The Man of Property*; *In Chancery*; *To Let*, with two short stories as interludes between the larger works: *Indian Summer of a Forsyte* and *Awakening*. The volume contains 1,120 pages, but the light paper makes it easy to handle, and it is dedicated to the writer's wife, 'believing it to be of all my work the least unworthy of one without whose encouragement, sympathy, and criticism I could never have become even such a writer as I am.' An historic touch is given by the Forsyte Family Tree, and Mr. Galsworthy has written a new Preface, in which he says that the word 'Saga' is 'used with a suitable irony; and, after all, this long tale, though it may deal with folk in frock-coats, furbelows, and a gilt-edged period, is not devoid of the essential heat of conflict. Discounting for the gigantic stature and blood-thirstiness of old days, as they have come down to us in fairy-tale and legend, the folk of the old Sagas were Forsytes, assuredly, in their possessive instincts,

and as little proof against the inroads of beauty and passion as Swithin, Sodmes, or even young Jolyon.' Mr. Galsworthy describes his work as 'an intimate incarnation of the disturbance that beauty effects in the lives of men.' Irene Heron is 'a concretion of disturbing beauty impinging on a possessive world.' The stories are famous, and gathered together in this compact volume they will make a strong appeal to a new circle of readers.

The third and fourth volumes of '*The Mickleham Meredith*' (Constable & Co., 5s. net) are *Evan Harrington* (1861), which did not catch public favour when it appeared in *Once a Week*, though it was illustrated by Charles Keene, and *Diana of the Crossways* (1885), whose heroine is the Hon. Mrs. Norton, whom Meredith met at Sir Alexander Duff Gordon's when he lived at Weybridge. He wrote Robert Louis Stevenson from Box Hill on March 24, 1884, that he was 'just finishing at a great pace a two-volume novel, to be called *Diana of the Crossways*—partly modelled upon Mrs. Norton. But this is between ourselves. I have had to endow her with brains, and make them evidence to the discerning. I think she lives.' A note at the forefront of the story says, 'A lady of high distinction for wit and beauty, the daughter of an illustrious Irish House, came under the shadow of a calumny. It has latterly been examined and exposed as baseless. The story of *Diana of the Crossways* is to be read as fiction.' The old house where Diana was born, she says, is near the Sussex Downs. It is probably the Crossways farmhouse at Abinger, and a fascinating place. Mr. Parker says in *Highways and Byways in Surrey*: 'It lies behind a high wall, which runs round a square little garden; you peep through a gateway covered with ivy, and find an old lichenized, weather-worn house, with ornamented brickwork and latticed windows.' The volumes are strongly bound in green cloth and slip easily into an ordinary pocket.—*Poems*. By Margie C. Rule. (Amersham: Morland. 2s. 6d. net.) These short poems have much life and quiet beauty. Nature and human nature are the themes, and they are well handled. '*The Ballad of Lady Maud*' is too pessimistic to ring true, but that is an exception. There is real feeling in some of the little bursts of affection.—*The Hearts of Prayer*. By Halbert J. Boyd. (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. 5s. net.) The power and blessing of prayer are brought out by a pleasant story in which a little girl comes into touch with the Spirits of Prayer and sees how wandering thoughts and inattention spoil the influence. It is brightly written, and strikes quite a new note. The illustrations by W. A. Chase catch the spirit of the story and have a charm of their own.—The six *Children's Stories* by Edith Stowell (Amersham: Morland. 1s. 6d. net), are intended for small folk, and teach the lessons of obedience and kindness in a very happy fashion.—*The Christian Motive and Method in Industry*. By A. R. Hewish. (Epworth Press. 2d. net.) Mutual service based on the federation of the world into one brotherhood is persuasively set forth in this useful booklet.—*Mr. Lloyd George's Tribute to Wesley and Methodism* (Epworth Press, 4d.), is likely to become classic. Its insight, its force, and its timeliness make it a real contribution to the study of Wesley's work and its abiding influence in the world.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (July).—In 'Great Britain and the United States' Mr. J. A. Spender says the defeat of President Wilson in 1920 was not a repentance on the part of the American people of their action in the war; nor was it a declaration that they would retire into their continent and take no further part in world affairs. But it was very definitely a revolt against the idea that American policy should be subject to European, or that European nations should have the right to call for American intervention, apart from the decision of Congress, on a given set of circumstances, which might be determined in Europe and not in America. He thinks the great hope of Anglo-American relations is that the two peoples will stand definitely together as the two great non-military powers. Whatever the official policy may be, unofficial America is inextricably involved with Europe. 'The Best-Seller Problem' is discussed by Mr. Tilby. He says, 'The fact is that the publisher's business is essentially what commercial circles call a gamble in futures. For serious books he can often estimate the demand with some precision, but the novel defies calculation.' Every now and then a book appears which only gets a few perfunctory lines from the reviewers, but it catches on and spreads. 'It becomes a best-seller, and as a prairie fire can only be extinguished by another blaze, so a best-seller can only be killed by the appearance of another best-seller.'

Journal of Theological Studies (April).—Amongst the notes and studies in this number is an interesting paper on the Synoptic Problem by Dr. T. Stephenson. The writer agrees with a recent suggestion of Canon Streeter that Q and L (Luke's special material) had been combined into a unity before they were united to Mark, but he does not accept the relegation of Mark to a secondary position. Dr. A. E. Brooke, in discussing the problem of the Pastoral Epistles, highly commends the contribution to the subject on the linguistic side made by Dr. P. N. Harrison, but criticizes his theories of their authorship. Instead of accepting a non-Pauline basis for the Epistles, in which a few Pauline fragments have been incorporated, Dr. Brooke attaches greater importance to the personal Pauline elements, while admitting that in the letters as we have them considerable additions have been made by other hands. Professor Burkitt writes on the Gnostic fragment, *Pistis Sophia*, with characteristic learning and sound judgement. Rev. D. S. Sharp contributes 'Lexical Notes from Epictetus,' supplementary to his published volume on Epictetus and the New Testament. The Reviews include an interesting article on the 'Oxyrhyncus Sayings of Jesus' by Dr. Vernon Bartlet and a high encomium of Professor E. Burton's elaborate and valuable commentary on Galatians.

Hibbert Journal (July).—An excellent number, with a varied and comprehensive table of contents. Professor Alexander's opening article on 'Natural Piety' pleads for a reverent temper in accepting 'the mystery of facts,' whether they be facts of individual experience, scientific laws, or the final conclusions of philosophy. An article on 'Rome and the Anglicans,' written from a Roman Catholic layman's point of view, contends that the sooner Anglo-Catholics return to the Roman pale the better for them, since Rome will not advance one step to meet them. Rev. T. G. Hardy, in a sprightly paper on 'The Supernatural under Domestication,' denounces the deadly dullness of life under 'rationalistic humanitarianism,' and urges the need of an emancipation of the old religion from 'the new worldliness.' Several articles deal, directly or indirectly, with psychology and the subconscious; e.g. Professor Laird's 'Moral Responsibility and the New Psychology,' Dr. E. Lyttelton's 'Self-Suggestion and Religion,' and 'The Self and the Unconscious,' by Leonard Hodgson. These papers are timely. The bearing of recent psychological theories on religion and morality requires closer investigation. The trouble is that the theories themselves are vague and uncertain, while their moral influence is already very unsettling and unsatisfactory. Other articles are 'Church and State in Conflict'—i.e. in Italy—by R. Murri; a very interesting discussion of 'Faith and its Expression in the Arts,' by G. P. Baker; a paper on 'What do we Mean by the Holy Spirit?' by Rev. G. Jackson, D.D., who does not seem to understand what he means by the Holy Trinity; and some suggestive 'Confessions and Hopes of an Ex-Inspector of Schools,' by the veteran educationist, E. G. Holmes.

Expository Times (July).—The editor in his notes deals with the subjects of modernism, miracles, and—at some length—the meaning of 'The Simple Gospel.' Mr. C. J. Gadd of the British Museum contributes an informing paper on 'Thirty Years' Progress in Assyriology,' which shows the advance made in our knowledge of the religion, law and commerce, and languages of Babylonia. Dr. Rendel Harris writes on 'Pindar and St. Paul' and Rev. R. H. Strachan expounds the narrative in the Gospels of 'The Man Borne of Four.' The features under the headings 'In the Study,' 'Literature,' 'Entre Nous,' and 'Contributions and Comments,' cannot be summarized, but they are written with knowledge and ability, are full of interest, and help to keep the reader, especially the ministerial reader, abreast of current thought and discussions.

Constructive Quarterly (June).—Dr. Gilbert White, bishop of Willochra, South Australia, writes on 'Reunion.' The need, the essentials, the objections, the possibility, and the spirit of reunion are discussed in a clear and broad-minded fashion. In Australia a Basis of Faith and Order has been agreed on between the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational Churches, in view of their possible reunion. The bishop says: 'From an Anglican point of view there is much that is very definite and very valuable in this document, and though there are things that we should like

to see added to it, there is little or nothing that we should be concerned to deny.' Further action as to interchange of pulpits, &c., might follow on such an agreement as to faith and order. Dr. Sparrow Simpson writes on 'The Corporate Nature of Christianity.' St. Paul has no idea of the destiny of the individual in isolation from the community. This profound institutionalism of St. Paul's is all the more significant when we remember the individualism of his character and temperament, the independence of his judgement, and the originality of his outlook. No man ever laid more powerful stress on personal experience and individual religion than he. The conclusion is that if Apostolic Christianity is to abide, we must have a restoration among us of the corporate aspect of religion. Dr. Eugene Stock writes on Bishop Moule of Durham: 'If he lived for one thing more than another, it was to quicken and deepen the clergy's sense of responsibility to their divine Master, their definite and unlimited trust in his grace and power, their love for the souls of their people, and their zeal in all branches of their ministry.' Archbishop Lang summed all up, 'Scholar he was, and saint.'

Science Progress (July).—There is great variety in this number which experts will value highly. Mr. Spencer Toy, Senior Mathematical and Science Master at Queen's College, Taunton, discusses 'The Present Conception of Matter.' The dissipation of the world's available energy has been going on at an ever-increasing rate. 'But now the time has come when scientific research has revealed the existence of a new capital of energy contained in the atom itself, and known as sub-atomic energy, in comparison with which the stores of super-atomic energy are merely trivial.' That has revolutionized our conception of matter. Some details are given which are of special interest. It is probable that a transmutation of the elements is going on in the stars, more complex ones being built out of the atom of hydrogen, whilst others are disintegrating with a liberation of electrical energy. It is an important and illuminating paper. Other articles are 'The Life-History of the Common or Freshwater Eel' and 'Architectural Acoustics.'

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (July).—This important number contains the first instalment of the hand-list of the Cheshire manuscripts of Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., which have been deposited at the library for an indefinite period, and an account of the pass from the Black Prince to William Jodrell, permitting him to return from France to England. The manuscript is reproduced in facsimile with its seals. Mr. Hoskier's account of recent investigations into the manuscripts of the Apocalypse will be valued by students. The articles on 'The Portrait of a Roman Gentleman from Livy'; 'Some Approaches to Religion through poetry during the past two generations'; Dr. Rendel Harris's 'Athena, Sophia, and the Logos'; and eleven letters of the first Duke of Lauderdale to Richard Baxter are of great interest.

Poetry (June-July) is a magazine of verse, comment, and criticism (Merton Press, 11 Gresham Street, 1s.). Its poems are musical and rich in thought. Papers on 'Francis Lutwidge,' 'The

Idylls of the King, 'School Anthologies,' add to the attractions of a good number. The August number is excellent.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (May).—Readers on this side of the Atlantic will welcome the information given by A. W. Fortune on 'The Kentucky Campaign against the Teaching of Evolution,' reports of which have surprised and puzzled him. Professor G. Birney Smith discusses the same subject from another standpoint in his paper 'Can Christianity welcome Freedom of Teaching?' criticizing severely the attempt to secure religious uniformity by coercion advocated by the popular orator, Mr. W. J. Bryan. Another paper on 'The Constitutional and Legal Status of Religion in Public Education,' by C. Zollmann, shows the difficulties which surround the subject owing to the varying decisions of State Courts. The Supreme Court of the U.S.A. has declared that Christianity is a part of the law of the land, in so far as it is 'not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against, to the annoyance of believers or the injury of the public.' Professor Burkitt of Cambridge contributes a valuable study of 'The Religion of the Manichees.' Other important articles are on 'The Intellectual and Social Crises in China' and 'The Dilemma of Social Religion.' The writer of the latter maintains that the Christian Church is allowing its practice to fall short of its convictions in the handling of current social problems.

Princeton Theological Review (July).—The first article contains an address delivered at Princeton Seminary by Professor Macartney on 'The Heroism of the Ministry in the Hour of Christianity's Peril.' R. C. Pitzer discusses 'The Psychic Phenomena of Mysticism,' leading to the conclusion that its quest is carried on, 'not by means of objective divine revelations, but by the sole means of subjective experiences abnormally produced.' B. F. Paist continues his series of articles on 'Peter Martyr and the Colloquy of Poissy'; H. E. Dosker sketches the life-work of H. Bavinck, a doughty champion of Calvinism, ranking with Orr, Warfield, and Knyper. All four leaders have passed away within the last very few years, and they have left no successors of the same type and calibre. Other articles are 'The City and the Sanctuary,' by C. M. Mackay, 'The Mind of Man,' by B. C. Steiner, and 'The Names and Titles of Christ,' by G. Henderson.

Bibliotheca Sacra (July).—Dr. Stimson writes on 'The New England Theology; its Historical Place.' Its distinctive period was from 1730 to 1830. It began with the constructive writings of Jonathan Edwards, and though it called out the most remarkable group of original thinkers that America has produced, it did not get much beyond an elucidation of his views. Almost all the men who shaped the New England theology were graduates of Yale College, as was Horace Bushnell, the last of the great line. They insisted that all men need a new birth, and valued theology primarily for its influence on life. 'The America in which we live to-day has by no means ceased to owe to them a great and permanent debt.' Articles on Sin and on 'The Roman Influence in the New Testament' are features of this valuable number.

fa

tic
he
arts
th
an
ly
ed
he
,

sy
3
-
f
;



Help the Great TEMPERANCE CAMPAIGN

The ex-President, the Rev. J. Alfred Sheep, has written two topical and especially helpful booklets, of which more than 4,000 copies have already been sold.

THE DRINK PROBLEM IN RELATION TO NATIONAL HEALTH. Crown 8vo, 48 pp. and cover. 6d. net (post 1d.). Contains chapters on: The Problem Stated—Alcohol and National Health—Alcohol a Brain Poison—Drink and Marriage—Drink and the Child.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TEMPERANCE. Crown 8vo, 48 pp. and cover. 6d. net (post 1d.). Principal contents: The Dawn of a New Era—Drunk and Poverty—The Relation of Drink to Unemployment—Would Sobriety Reduce Wages?—Alcohol and Crime.

Buy Locally and Save the Postage.

THE EPWORTH PRESS
28-35 City Road, London, E.C. 1.

Connoisseurs of

COFFEE

DRINK THE

RED
WHITE
& BLUE.

Delicious for

Breakfast

& after Dinner.

In making use LESS QUANTITY, it being so much stronger than ordinary coffee.

SOLD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE INTERPRETER

*A Quarterly Magazine of
Biblical and Theological Study*

JULY, 1877.

ADAM IN THE KENYAL TO THE RIGHTEOUS

Rev. Dr. A. W. MacLean, D.D.

THE CHILD'S CONCEPT OF GOD

Rev. Dr. Samuel Littre, M.A.

NEW LIGHT ON THE FUTURE GOSPEL

The Rev. L. W. Germon, M.D.

IS VITAMIN BIODERIVED?

Rev. Dr. G. C. Hinckley, M.A.

THE CASE FOR VOLUNTARY OBEDIENCE

Rev. Dr. J. C. Green, M.A.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS

Rev. Dr. G. C. Hinckley, M.A.

CHRIST AND PHILOSOPHY

Rev. Dr. J. C. Green, M.A.

THE FIRST DAYS OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY

Rev. J. A. Thompson, M.A.

Price is. 6d.

Annual Subscription, 6s. 6d.

Post Free is. 11d.

From THE INTERPRETER OFFICE, Altringham, Manchester.

London:

Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd.

Cambridge: Messrs. Kettler & Co.

NEW AND RECENT WORKS FROM
HODDER & STOUGHTON'S
THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LIST.

REV. PROFESSOR DAVID SMITH.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF ST. PAUL. Uniform with 'The Days of His Flesh; the Earthly Life of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.' By the REV. PROFESSOR DAVID SMITH, M.A., D.D. 5s. net.

REV. PROFESSOR A. T. ROBERTSON.

A GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT. By the REV. PROFESSOR A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D. Third and Revised Edition. 4s. net.

THE LATE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

CATHEDRAL AND UNIVERSITY SERMONS. By the late H. C. G. MOYLE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. 7s. 6d. net.

REV. PROFESSOR ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

HISTORIC THEORIES OF ATONEMENT. By the REV. PROFESSOR ROBERT MACKINTOSH, D.D. 7s. 6d. net.

DR. JOHN KELMAN.

THE ABSOLUTISM OF INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIANITY. By the REV. JOHN KELMAN, D.D. 7s. 6d. net.

DR. JOHN HUTTON.

A PROPOSAL OF JESUS. By the REV. JOHN HUTTON, M.A., D.D. 7s. 6d. net.

DR. DAVID S. CAIRNS.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By the REV. PROFESSOR DAVID S. CAIRNS, D.D. Third Edition, with New Preface. 5s. net.

REV. PRINCIPAL JAMES IVERACH.

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE AND OTHER LECTURES. By the REV. PRINCIPAL JAMES IVERACH, M.A., D.D. 7s. 6d. net.

REV. W. MACKINTOSH MACKAY.

SEVEN TYPES OF MODERN MEN. Second Series. By the REV. W. MACKINTOSH MACKAY, B.D. 5s. net.

REV. HUBERT L. SIMPSON.

THE INVENTION OF HIS SOUL. By the REV. HUBERT L. SIMPSON, M.A. 7s. 6d. net.

REV. T. H. DARLOW.

HOLY GROUND. By the REV. T. H. DARLOW. 6s. net.

DR. HUGH BLACK.

THE CLEAVAGE OF THE WORLD. By the REV. PROFESSOR HUGH BLACK, M.A., D.D. 6s. net.

REV. DINSDALE T. YOUNG.

YEARS OF RETROSPECT. By the REV. DINSDALE T. YOUNG. 7s. 6d. net.

HODDER & STOUGHTON, Limited, Publishers, London, E.C. 4.

Published by J. Alfred Sharp, 25-25 Old Bond Street, London, E.C. 4, to whom all inquiries respecting
advertisements should be addressed.

Printed by Southampton Times Limited, Shirley Road, Southampton.

